THE ART BULLETIN

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THE ART BULLETIN

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1. London, British Museum, MS Add. 42497, recto

2. London, British Museum, MS Add. 42497, verso

4. Strasbourg, Bibl. de la Ville (formerly), *Hortus deliciarum*, fol. 100r. *Baptism of Christ*

7. Rouen, Bibl. Mun., MS 370, fol. 36r. *Celebration of the Mass*

3. Detail of Fig. 1. *Baptism of Christ*

5. Florence, Museo Archeologico, *Flabellum of Tournus*

6. Reconstruction of the *Flabellum of Hohenbourg*

THE FLABELLUM OF HOHENBOURG*

ROSALIE B. GREEN

TWENTY years ago the British Museum acquired a manuscript of singular interest, under the signature of Add. 42497. It consists of a strip of vellum seven and a half inches high and thirty-four inches long, at one time folded in accordion fashion into panels two inches wide, painted on both sides with scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist (Figs. 1 and 2). The scenes are mutilated at their beginning and, since the series returns along the reverse of the leaf, are also incomplete at their end. The date of execution is late in the twelfth century. The style is immediately reminiscent of the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad of Landsberg, the famous encyclopedia, now destroyed, which was compiled and illustrated in the convent on Mount Hohenbourg after the accession of Herrad as abbess in 1167.

The acquisition of Add. 42497 was signalized in a publication by E. G. Millar.[1] Additional discussion appeared shortly afterward in an article by J. Walter.[2] Except for a few words by H. Swarzenski,[3] no further mention has, to my knowledge, been made. Yet further notice of the manuscript is necessary for the solution of important problems on which Millar and Walter disagree.

The problems are two: (1) what is the relation of the British Museum leaf to the *Hortus*? (2) what was the specific purpose for which the oddly-proportioned strip was intended? The answers to the two questions are intimately related, for Millar's suggestion that Add. 42497 formed an actual part of the *Hortus* is disputed, I believe correctly, by Walter. But Walter then offers no convincing substitute answer to question 2.

On the basis of the two articles cited, the matter stands as follows: Millar, properly identifying the style of Add. 42497 with that of the *Hortus*, says that "the only point requiring explanation is how so long and narrow a strip of vellum could ever have formed part of a book. The manuscript itself appears, however, to have been made up of leaves of different sizes, the largest measuring 50 x 36/7 cm., while the others were 'de format moindre,' and until the sixteenth century it was unbound except for a vellum wrapper. The present strip has been carefully folded, as is shown by a series of vertical creases probably contemporary with the manuscript, into seventeen equal sections, each two inches wide, and forming half of one of the compartments. There would thus have been no difficulty, if the strip was guarded in by its left edge, in unfolding it to the right and displaying either a compartment at a time or the whole series of pictures." Add. 42497 thus is "probably the only surviving fragment of one of the most famous of medieval illuminated manuscripts."[4]

Walter remarks in rebuttal that all the leaves of the *Hortus* except a small number of interpolated ones had the same dimensions and that the figure style is *not* the same in the two works. As to the function of the strip, Walter suggests "que c'est un objet de dévotion privée, une sorte de polyptique 'en miniature(s),' facile à emporter en voyage dans un étui. Les leçons de la Vie du Précurseur se présentaient à la méditation de tel seigneur sous la forme d'un petit retable portatif, ou une autre forme, plus pratique, du *rotulus*."[5]

On the basis of study of photographs and of the work itself,[6] I have come to conclusions in agree-

1. "Miniatures of the Life of St. John the Baptist," *British Museum Quarterly*, VI, 1931, pp. 1-3, pls. I-III. Also "The Inscription of the St. John the Baptist Roll," *ibid*, pp. 108-109.

2. "Aurait-on découvert des fragments de l'Hortus deliciarum?," *Archives alsaciennes d'histoire de l'art*, X, 1931, pp. 1-8, pl. after p. 8.

3. *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau*, Berlin, 1936, I, pp. 45 n. 3, 49, pl. 7 (35); *The Berthold Missal*, New York, 1943, p. 17 n. 35.

4. Millar, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

5. Walter, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

6. In the summer of 1950, an examination made possible by the kindness of Mr. Andreas Mayor, Assistant Keeper.

ment with Millar on the question of identity of styles and with Walter on the question of disparity of usage.

The first point can best be proved by direct comparison between Add. 42497 and the drawings which provide our only knowledge of the *Hortus*.[7] The Baptism of Christ is represented in both (Figs. 3, 4), somewhat more elaborately in the *Hortus*. Even allowing for the strangenesses of nineteenth century style, the similarities are unmistakable. The figure of Christ is of identical proportions and physical type, and all but identical pose. (The iconography is based on a Byzantine manuscript of the type of Vatican Urb. gr. 2.)[8] Notice the large-scale nimbus, the unsuccessfully twisted torso. St. John the Baptist takes the same awkward stance in both instances, slightly more active in Add. 42497, and wears the same peculiar short and jagged garment girded with a cylindrical form of belt. The three angels are differently composed in the two versions, but closely similar in type. The far wing projects as a cushion-shaped object, the near wing is displayed. There is the same contrast of the angels' shod and naked feet. The shading in the *Hortus* drawing seems to suggest the same kind of application of color: the same linear modeling of drapery occurs in both. Yet these are not the identities that result from blind copying one from the other. There seems to me no doubt that the two Baptisms here compared come from the same scriptorium, that of Hohenbourg.

The probable use of Add. 42497 remains to be discussed. Millar's suggestion of a short leaf folded into the large manuscript sets up a physical problem in book-binding—consider the thickness of the folded leaf—and does not explain such duplication of subject matter as the two Baptisms. Walter's suggestion of an independent "polyptych" is no more feasible. A small book would be far more "pratique" for personal study than a long folded strip always wishing to expand itself— an object, moreover, on which the pictures themselves rather than the bare margins of pages would show the marks of page-turning.

Still another suggestion connects the painted strip with wall paintings or tapestry. This idea is disputed by the existence of paintings on both sides of the strip, by the careful expansion of the ornament (quite unnecessary in a pattern piece), and by the fact that the strip was designed from its beginnings for folding.

That the folding was designed from the start is amply proved by the conformity of the geometric ornament and of the changes of background color to the areas separated by the folds. This is the first and strongest evidence for the reconstruction of Add. 42497 as a flabellum.[9] Everything else seems to agree: as a flabellum, the piece is necessarily decorated on both obverse and reverse; the brief text runs along the upper edge, where the vellum is most nearly straight when the fan is open, and the words are therefore most easily read; the lower third of the strip, the most densely folded part in the expanded fan, bears only the unimportant decorative frieze.

Several flabella made of vellum, as opposed to the more common fans of metal, are known to have existed in the mediaeval period.[10] That of Tournus, now in Florence, is the best known and

7. A. Straub and G. Keller, *Herrade de Landsberg, Hortus deliciarum*, Strasbourg, 1901.

8. C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo monaco e dell'evangeliario greco urbinate*, Rome, 1910, pl. 86. Iconographic notes on the sources used by the Hohenbourg scriptorium will accompany my edition of the illustrations of the *Hortus*, now in the early stages of preparation.

9. This suggestion was put forward by Walter (*op.cit.*, p. 7), but only to be immediately rejected.

10. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, v, part 2, 1923, cols. 1610-1625; W. Smith and S. Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, London, 1908, I, pp. 675-678; C. de Linas, "Les disques crucifères, le flabellum et l'umbella," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 3rd ser., I, 1883, pp. 379-394, 477-518. On the use of the flabellum, Leclercq (in Cabrol-Leclercq, cols. 1615f.) quotes from the eleventh century *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*: "Unus autem

ministrorum, qui semper duo debent esse, stans cum flabello prope sacerdotem, ex quo muscarum infestatio exurgere incipit, donec finiatur, eas arcere a sacrificio, et ab altari seu ab ipso sacerdote non negligit." Figure 7, a miniature from a thirteenth century Reims pontifical (Rouen, Bibl. Mun., MS 370, fol. 36r; V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1937, pl. XXVII) very clearly shows the fan extended above the altar, at the moment of the elevation of the Host. The material of the fan represented in the miniature cannot be determined: it may be meant as vellum, but no pleats are apparent. A twelfth century fan of the pleated type appears on a capital at Moissac, in the scene of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. See M. Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," ART BULLETIN, XIII, 1931, fig. 51, p. 306. The latest and most important discussion of the liturgical fan is found in Joseph Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, Munich, 1932, pp. 642-660.

most fully published.[11] The Tournus flabellum (Fig. 5) consists of thirty-eight panels each eight inches high and less than one and a half inches wide. The twelfth century flabellum of Hohenbourg, squatter in proportions than the more elegant Carolingian object, has panels measuring two by seven and a half inches. Only seventeen panels, plus part of an eighteenth, remain. This is not enough to form a fan of full circle. However, it has been noted that the strip is incomplete. If the existence of a sufficient number of additional panels can be justified, the case for the reconstruction of the strip as a flabellum can be completed.

There are two pieces of evidence. First, Add. 42497 is formed of two distinct pieces of vellum, laced together between full panels four and five (actually nos. five and six, counting the fragment at the beginning). The join was made after the painting of the scenes, for the robes of the first monk on panel five disappear beneath the overlap, but before the addition of the inscription and ornament. It seems unlikely that two very disparate lengths of material should have been joined, and especially unlikely that the first length to be painted should be much the shorter of the two. Thirteen panels exist to the right of the join. In consideration of the importance of number symbolism in mediaeval thought, I suggest eleven to the left, making twenty-four panels—twelve sections—in all. With this number, and a receptacle handle of the Tournus type, a full-round fan is nicely formed (Fig. 6).

The second piece of evidence is iconographic in nature. Excluding the decorative panels, the sequence includes the Naming of John, John Baptizing, John Recognizing Christ, and the Baptism, all on the recto, and, on the verso, John Before Herod and Herodias, John Cast into Prison, John Imprisoned, and the Feast of Herod. There are obvious deficiencies at both ends of this sequence. At the beginning, as Millar noted, at least the Annunciation to Zacharias and the Birth of John are needed, possibly also the representation of Zacharias Speechless. At the end, the incomplete scene of the Feast needs at least one more panel, and the important event of the Decollation, several. The Burial of John may have been represented also. Without an attempt to allocate a definite amount of space to each episode that is lacking, it is still clear that ample subject matter exists, and is in fact demanded, for the completion of the length as calculated from the evidence of the lacing.

The manner in which Add. 42497 is worn indicates that the flabellum was not only made but used as such. There are (incense?) spots and burns: it may have been fire which robbed the fan of a fourth of its length. The end which remains undamaged seems to hint by a line parallel to its edge that it may once have been inserted into a slit rod or other reinforcement.

There seems to be no particular appropriateness in the choice of scenes from the life of John the Baptist as the decoration of a fan, but St. John was held in special veneration at Hohenbourg. St. Odilia, founder of the establishment, was born blind and gained her sight only at baptism. Perhaps it is barely possible, too, that the designer of the flabellum remembered that the Precursor had spoken of the Saviour as metaphorically wielding a fan: *Cuius ventilabrum in manu eius, et purgabit aream suam. . . .*

However that may be, two conclusions seem very probable. Add. 42497 is the only example now known of the original style of the *Hortus deliciarum*, and it is the only twelfth century flabellum thus far identified in the medium of manuscript illumination.

INDEX OF CHRISTIAN ART
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

11. L. E. A. Eitner, *The Flabellum of Tournus*, New York, 1944.

THE TRANSEPT PORTALS OF
CHARTRES CATHEDRAL:
THE DATE OF THEIR CONSTRUCTION
ACCORDING TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

LOUIS GRODECKI

RECENT studies devoted to the transept sculptures of Chartres Cathedral have not, it must be admitted, brought us much nearer to a final solution of the problems involved. Disagreement persists as to dates, distinction of ateliers, and interpretation of style.[1] The iconography is once more under discussion after the appearance of Abdul-Hak's book;[2] and the study of the ateliers, brilliantly initiated by Wilhelm Vöge,[3] should be resumed since the hypotheses of Medding and Schlag cannot be considered as satisfactory.[4] It is necessary, therefore, to examine the facts which can be established by an archaeological analysis of the architecture. Theories based on purely stylistic considerations remain necessarily hypothetical unless supported by material evidence. We must seek to determine what is reconcilable with this evidence and what is not.

I

The progress of rebuilding after the fire of June 10, 1194, is not directly recorded in documents. What can be established by their interpretation may be summarized as follows:

(1) In 1210, a flight of stone steps existed on the flank of the Cathedral as mentioned in the report of Philip Augustus' investigation of the popular uprising that took place in this year.[5]

1. The most important and most recent studies on the transept portals of Chartres are the following: M. Aubert, *La sculpture française au début de la période gothique*, Florence and Paris, 1928, pp. 84-97; P. Vitry, *La sculpture française sous le règne de Saint Louis*, Florence and Paris, 1929, pp. 13-19; W. Medding, *Die Westportale der Kathedrale von Amiens und ihre Meister*, Augsburg, 1930, pp. 88ff.; J. Lipman, "A Note on the Transept Sculptures of Chartres," *Art in America*, 1938, pp. 16-24; S. Abdul-Hak, *La sculpture des porches de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Paris, 1942; G. Schlag, "Die Skulpturen des Querhauses der Kathedrale von Chartres," *Westdeutsches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte (Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch)*, 1943, pp. 115-164; M. Aubert, *La sculpture française au Moyen-Age*, Paris, 1946, pp. 219-240; E. Mâle, *Notre Dame de Chartres*, Paris, 1948, pp. 44ff.

2. By Mr. A. Katzenellenbogen, of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.; I wish to thank Mr. Katzenellenbogen for his valuable observations on the present article.

3. W. Vöge, "Die Bahnbrecher des Naturstudiums um 1200," *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1913/14, pp. 194-216.

4. W. Medding, *op.cit.*, pp. 88-93, attributes to the "Master of the *Beau-Dieu* at Amiens" the left portals on the north and south of Chartres, which, according to him, were executed between 1200 and 1205; to the "Master of the Portal of the Virgin at Amiens," certain pieces of sculpture of the right and central portals on the south, and the south porch, all allegedly before 1210; to the "Master of the Queen Sheba at Amiens," to the "Master of St. Ulpha at Amiens" and to the "Master of the Last Judgment at Paris," the sculp-

ture of the south portals. G. Schlag, *op.cit.*, especially in his conclusions pp. 157ff., distinguishes a "Master of the David group" (central portal on the north), coming from Laon(?) and working before 1200; a "Master of the Apostles" (central portal on the south), working between 1200 and 1210; a "Master of the Melchizedek group" (central portal on the north), working between 1205 and 1210, coming from Reims(?); several artists who left the atelier of the latter, the "Master of the Visitation" (left portal, north), 1210-1215/20; the "Master of the High Priest group" (north porch), 1215-1225; the "Master of the Church and the Synagogue" (more problematic, because these statues have disappeared from the north porch), working around 1225, and the creator of the statue of St. Theodore; the "Master of the Royal Heads" (right portal, north), already identified and analyzed by W. Vöge, who is supposed to have been at work between 1210 and 1215. Other artists, less important, arrived around 1225: a Parisian, responsible for the St. George (ca. 1230), a master from Reims (perhaps Villard de Honnecourt himself), the author of the St. Avitus and the St. Laumerus (ca. 1230), etc. Each master, according to Schlag, directed an atelier, in which he recognizes a principal assistant or foreman and a certain number of ordinary sculptors. This résumé gives only an imperfect idea of the complexity of Schlag's observations.

5. *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, published by E. de Lépinois and L. Merlet, Chartres, 1862-65, II, p. 57. It is impossible to deduce from this text that in 1210 stairs led to the present portals of the transept, and that the porches themselves were completed or under construction, as Medding (*op.*
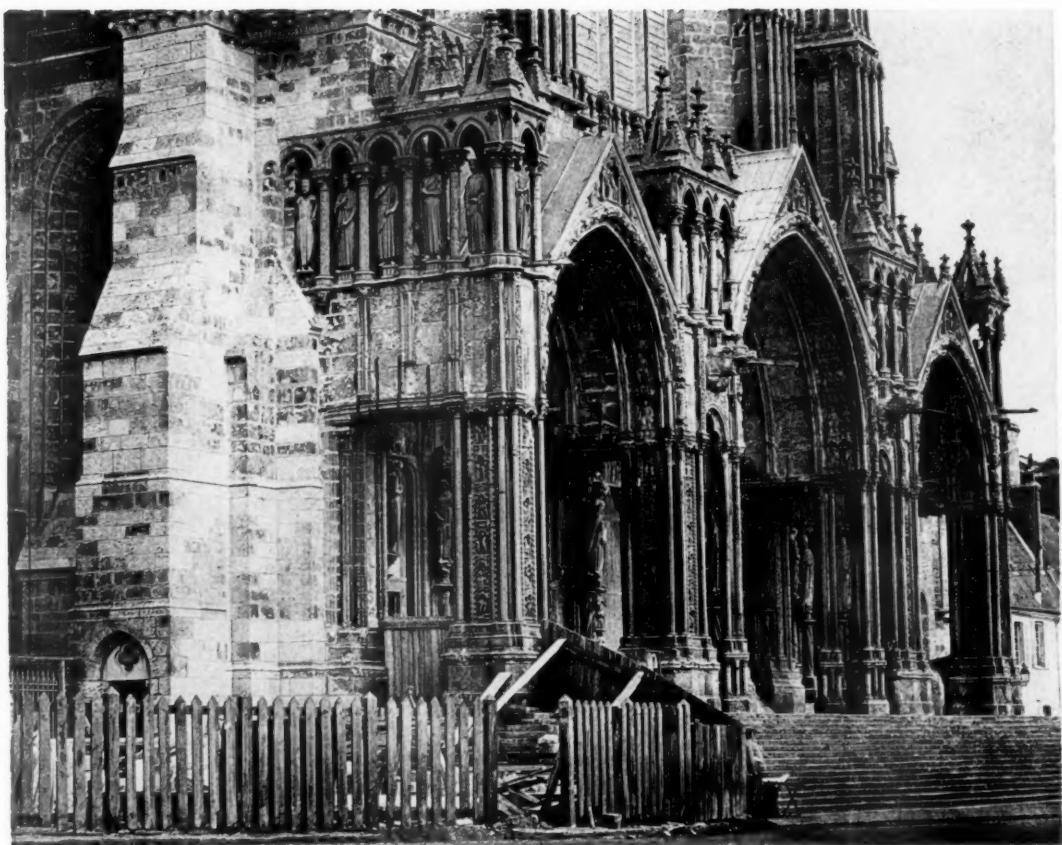
1. Chartres, Cathedral, south porch before 1905
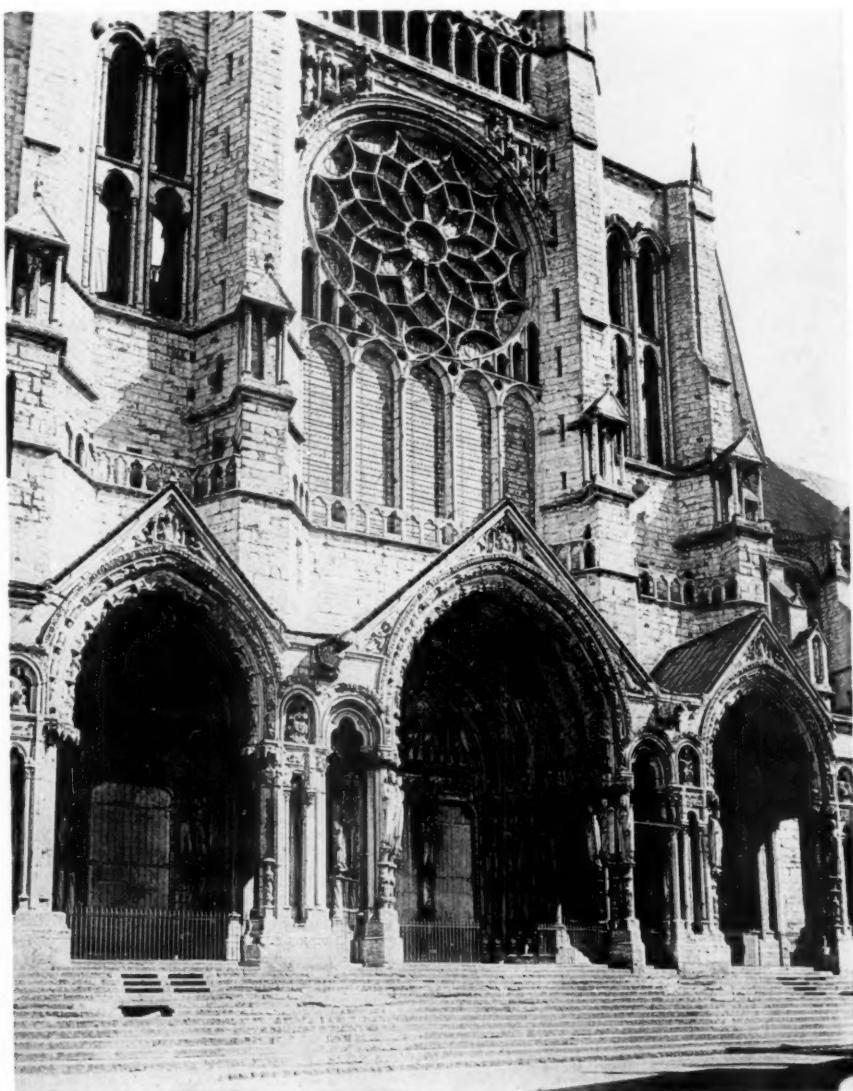
2. Chartres, Cathedral, north porch before 1905

3. Chartres, Cathedral, base of the statue of St. Avitus,
in the right portal of the south façade
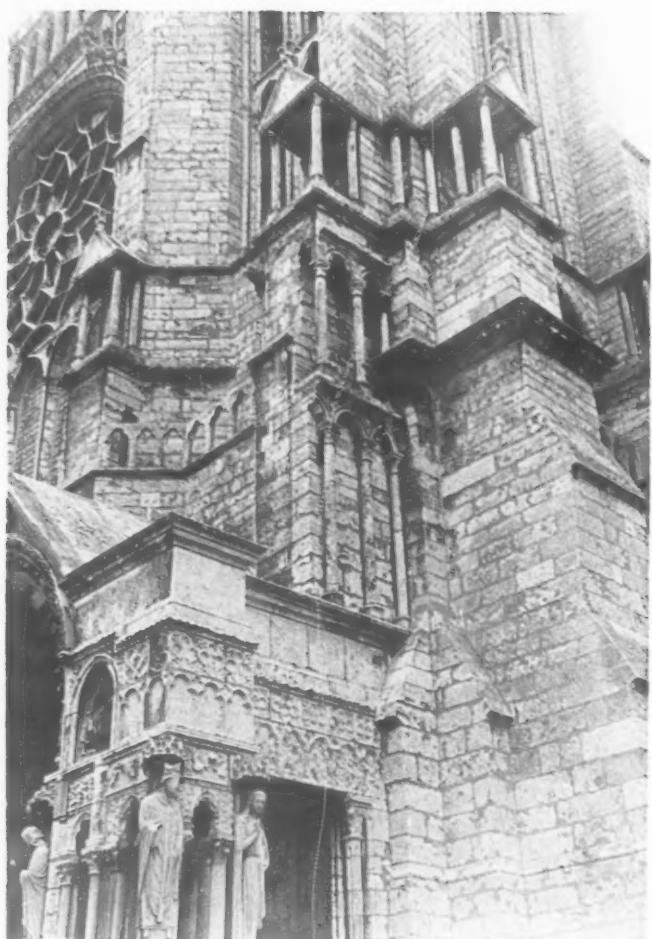
4. Chartres, Cathedral, north wing
of the transept, west buttress,
from the northwest
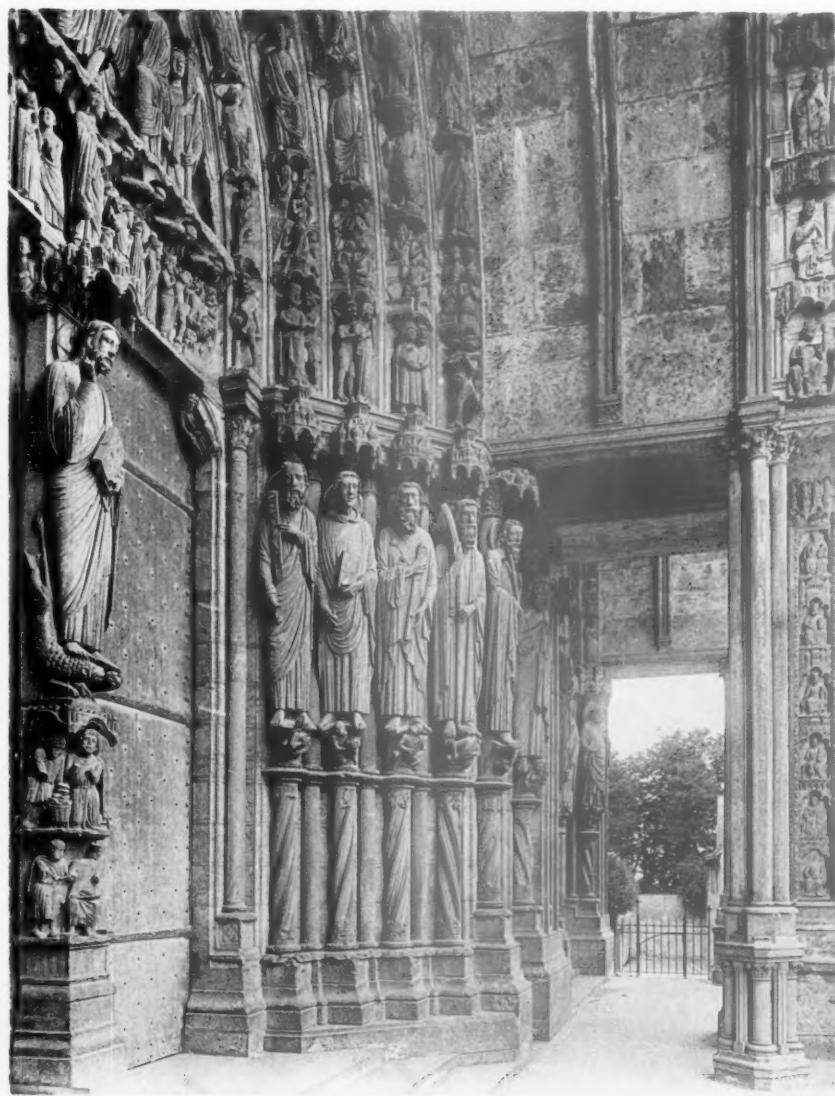
5. Chartres, Cathedral, south transept,
central portal, right-hand embrasure,
after 1905

(2) Before 1214 or 1215, a donation was made for the construction of a pier.[6]

(3) In 1220, part, at least, of the upper vaults was finished according to the testimony of Guillaume le Breton.[7]

(4) On January 1, 1221, the Canons made preparations for the assignment of seats in the choir stalls which had just been installed.[8]

(5) In 1224, a *capitellum* (wooden porch, lean-to), attached to the south wing of the transept was removed, most probably in order to permit the construction of the present, richly sculptured stone porch.[9]

(6) Before February 26, 1216, a stained-glass window was donated for the clerestory of the choir;[10] before the end of 1218 (probably in the course of this year or in 1217), stained glass was offered for a window in the southern side-aisle of the choir;[11] between 1217 and 1221 a series of windows was presented for the upper parts of the southern transept wing.[12]

(7) The general consecration of the Cathedral was celebrated on October 24, 1260.[13]

Most of these facts have been assembled and convincingly interpreted by Lefèvre-Pontalis;[14] the result is that the choir as well as the southern transept wing must have been completed in 1220.[15] It has been claimed by some that the construction of the choir preceded that of the nave,[16] but Lefèvre-Pontalis was probably correct in maintaining the contrary.[17] It is true, however, that he gives only one argument, viz. the more advanced type of the flying buttresses employed in the chevet. The difference between these chevet buttresses and those of the nave is indeed obvious and clearly shows the progress of the construction, starting with the principal arches of the nave buttresses, continuing with the principal arches of the choir, and ending, in the fourteenth century, with the addition of the upper arches both in the nave and in the choir.[18] However, the thesis of Lefèvre-Pontalis can be supported by other arguments:

cit., p. 98) and H. Bunjes ("Die Skulpturen der Liebfrauen-kirche in Trier," *Trierer Zeitschrift*, 1938, p. 221 n. 125) would have it.

6. *Cartulaire* . . . (*cit.* n. 5), III, p. 46; the text in question is an obituary notice, which may indicate a donation prior to the death of the donor.

7. Guillaume Le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, edited by H. Fr. Delaborde, Paris, 1882, I, p. 196.

8. *Cartulaire* . . . , II, p. 95.

9. *ibid.*, II, p. 103. For the interpretation of the text and the explanation of the word *capitellum*, see E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, "Les architectes et la construction des cathédrales de Chartres," *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1905, p. 113.

10. Y. Delaporte and E. Houvet, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Chartres, 1926, I, pp. 484ff., no. CXXXIII.

11. *ibid.*, I, pp. 227ff.; no. XVII.

12. *ibid.*, I, pp. 429ff.; nos. XCII-XCVII.

13. On this consecration, see E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

14. *ibid.*, pp. 100-111.

15. Abbé Bulteau, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres*, Chartres, 1888, 2d ed., I, p. 112, quotes the charter of Raoul de Menonville, of 1198 (*Cartulaire* . . ., I, p. 260), who, by placing a knife on the altar of St. Lawrence (access to the Altar of Our Lady being difficult because of the crowd of the faithful), made the gift of a benefice to the Cathedral. Bulteau deduces from this that the choir must have been completed in 1198. The *Livre des Miracles* of the Virgin of Chartres also speaks, with reference to the year 1198, of a miracle which occurred in front of the Altar of Our Lady. But nothing proves that these altars were located in a completed part of the present edifice. The offices must have been resumed, in a provisional construction, in 1194, on altars which were later moved, as was the case in nearly all cathedrals undergoing reconstruction.

16. G. Schlag, *op.cit.*, p. 157. This opinion has been upheld especially by H. Kunze, *Das Fassadenproblem der französischen*

Früh- und Hochgotik, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 37-41. The argumentation of Kunze is directly related to his hypothesis concerning the project of a Gothic façade at Chartres, which was never executed. The assembled proofs do not seem sufficient: (1) The narrower length of the westernmost bays of the nave does not prove a juncture, because their dimensions agree with those of the oldest foundations, of the twelfth century in the last bay, of the eleventh in the preceding one; to the east of the second bay, the increased length necessitated the asymmetrical reinforcement of the Romanesque foundations beneath the buttresses. (2) Nor can the width of the transept, perceptibly smaller than that of the choir or nave (2.51 m.), be considered as an indication of the greater age of the eastern parts of the church: the width of the choir and nave were determined by the eleventh century foundations, whereas the width of the transept was not; hence this difference cannot be employed in a discussion of chronology. (3) The four-part triforium of the nave (and of the last bay of the choir) is not more "modern" than the five-part triforium of the transept and of the three straight bays of the choir; the four-part form exists in the western choir bays of Noyon (Ch. Seymour, Jr., *Notre-Dame of Noyon*, New Haven, 1939, pp. 162-163), at Braine, Mouzon, Longpont, and in the nave of Soissons, i.e. in the monuments the plan or execution of which dates from between 1175 and 1210. The five-part triforium of the Chartres transept was adopted because of the greater length of the bays.

17. E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op.cit.* (n. 9), p. 102.

18. This question was discussed by H. Kunze, *op.cit.*, p. 37, with ingenious but unacceptable arguments. According to this author, the form of the arches of the flying buttresses at Chartres is too exceptional to serve as a chronological indication; and the fourteenth century restorations were perhaps more thoroughgoing than had generally been thought. However, it is evident that the arches of the Chartres choir lead to those of the choir at Auxerre (designed ca. 1225?), to those of the Cathedral of Troyes (designed ca. 1235), and, later, to those of the choir at Amiens. To explain this chain of

(1) The windows in the side-aisles of the forechoir have large embrasures and two lights surmounted by *oculi*. They are therefore more advanced than the single windows in the side-aisles of the nave, and this more developed composition agrees with the more advanced form of the moldings.

(2) The style of the stained glass in the nave, side-aisles as well as clerestory, is less advanced than in the choir,[19] with the exception of one window in the northern side-aisle (the *History of Joseph*). [20]

The priority of the nave can also be confirmed by archaeological data and textual evidence. The walls and piers of the nave rest on the foundations of Fulbert's eleventh century basilica which were merely reinforced; here no time-consuming preparations were necessary for the construction above ground. In the east part of the church, however, it was necessary not only to reinforce the old foundations but also to build new ones to support the walls of the outer ambulatory and of the radiating chapels inserted between those of Fulbert's structure. Beneath the transept the Romanesque foundations could not be used at all and a considerable amount of excavation was required.[21] Since one part of the church had to be erected speedily in order to provide a place for the services, it was logical to begin with the nave rather than with the choir, and its construction may have started as early as 1194-1195. While this was going on, the foundations on the eastern sections could be completed and the process of construction certainly continued without interruption.[22]

The text of 1221—referring to the assignment of seats in the new choir stalls—indicates that only at this moment did the chapter take possession of the choir, from which we may infer that it had just been completed. The text of 1210—the same which mentions the flight of steps on the flank of the Cathedral—also refers to altars surmounted by reliquaries "in the choir"; but, as Lefèvre-Pontalis clearly realized, this means in all probability a provisional choir the location of which in the eastern part of the nave is strongly indicated by certain singularities in the stained-glass windows.[23]

These data are important for the history of the transept. As can be deduced from the general progress of construction, it is most unlikely that the transept was undertaken before 1200. Its southern wing was completed ca. 1220 because the stained glass was then in position. In 1210, on the other hand, it is unlikely that the transept could have served for liturgical purposes because a provisional choir was probably still in use in the nave. Hence it is between 1210 and 1220 that the completion of the transept façades must be dated. Historical proof of this exists only as far as the southern wing is concerned; but we shall see that the northern wing was finished before the southern one, from which we must conclude that it was also completed before 1220. In this way we obtain a lower limit for all the portal sculptures incorporated with the architecture, at least for those figures which, according to material evidence, were intended to be erected at the same time as the walls were constructed. The interpretation of the text of 1224 leads to the same conclusion. In this year

derivation, one would have to suppose a general restoration of the choir of Chartres around 1225-1235, a hypothesis that rests on no archaeological or historical evidence. The comparison between the arches of the choir and those of the nave clearly indicates the greater age of the latter: the round arches of the arcature are replaced by pointed ones; colonnettes with capitals are replaced by pieces shaped like mullions; solid pinnacles with niches for statues are replaced by lighter pinnacles with columns, etc.

19. Y. Delaporte and E. Houvet, *op.cit.* (n. 10), I, pp. 129-131; Y. Delaporte, *La cathédrale de Chartres et ses vitraux*, Paris, 1943, p. 13; E. Mâle, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 69; L. Grodecki, "A Stained Glass *Atelier* of the Thirteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1948, p. 100; certain savants, notably Prof. P. Frankl, do not admit this succession of work.

20. Y. Delaporte and E. Houvet, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 365ff. no. LXI.

21. R. Merlet, *La cathédrale de Chartres*, Paris, n.d., pp. 79-80.

22. It was just as normal to start the construction at the place spared by the fire, even if this were only to preserve the equilibrium.

23. The easternmost bays of the side-aisles are furnished with windows (doubtless prior to 1205-1210), the iconographic program of which is very unusual: in the north, we have the window of the Redemption (Y. Delaporte and E. Houvet, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 383ff., no. LIX), in the south, the window of the Miracles of the Virgin of Chartres (*ibid.*, I, pp. 189ff., no. IX). As a rule, however, the "symbolic" windows of the Redemption were placed in the chevet, either in the ambulatory or in the axial chapel, as is the case in Bourges, Rouen, Orbais, Tours and, formerly, in Saint-Denis and the Cathedral of Châlons-sur-Marne. The very unusual place of this window at Chartres must, therefore, be explained, and the presence of an altar in the immediate vicinity furnishes the key. The same reason explains the window of the Miracles of the Virgin of Chartres, who was especially venerated in this church.

the portals of the southern transept wing must have been in existence for some time, since shops used to be kept beneath the "lean-to's" by which the portals were protected (... *stalla merceriorum qui solent esse in capitellis* ...).

The archaeological evidence yields even more precise information: important conclusions may be drawn from a reconstruction of the transept façades as they were before the porches were added. The lines to be followed in this reconstruction were ingeniously indicated by Lefèvre-Pontalis when he observed that the addition of the porches made it necessary to cut away the lower portion of the buttresses which still subsist in their original form above the level of the porch lintels.[24]

II

On the south façade (Fig. 1), the buttresses were cut back in such a way that they still project 1.20 m. beyond the lintels of the porch. Their form and their ground plan at platform level can easily be established by projecting the overhang to the ground and reconstructing the lower portion after the model of the lateral buttresses, still intact, which face the east and west. By adding to the projection of the preserved portion two set-offs—one, projecting 0.35 m., at some distance below the porch lintels, the other, projecting ca. 0.10 m., at the base—a total projection of 1.65 m. is obtained. The width of the buttresses, measured above the present lintels, is 1.92 m. and 2.00 m. for the buttresses between the towers and the central part of the transept, and 1.50 m. and 1.65 m. for those at the ends. The latter, however, have been cut in width in order to permit the installation of the Gallery of Kings on their lateral surfaces; their original width was 2.10 m. and 2.05 m., respectively.[25]

From this reconstruction of their plan at ground level, it is evident that the original buttresses encroached considerably upon the present side portals (*text figs.* B and D). Their edges on either side of each portal were in line with the colonnettes that separate the third and fourth statues in all the embrasures. The inner facing of these buttresses has been preserved, near the ground, in the right-hand portal (Portal of the Confessors), where moldings have been rather clumsily cut out of the facing in order to decorate the socles of the statues of St. Laumerus and St. Avitus (Fig. 3). It can thus be proved by material evidence that these two statues, as well as the corresponding statues of St. George and St. Theodore in the Portal of the Martyrs, cannot have existed before the buttresses were cut back. The archevaults surmounting these statues (the fifth archevault in both portals) were also added after the cutting back of the buttresses. They project beyond the front plane of the tower walls, and their haunches fall within the area formerly occupied by the buttresses. This confirms the conclusions already drawn by some scholars from the style of these statues and archevaults,[26] and at the same time invalidates certain other hypotheses according to which they were executed before 1224.[27] The perfect correspondence that exists between the distance from one buttress to another and the width of the portals, when reduced to three statues in either jamb, is striking and, as will be seen below, of great importance.

As regards the central portal of the south façade, the reconstruction of the original buttresses permits less positive conclusions. This portal did not fill the whole area between the buttresses but was separated from them by 1.90 m. and 2.00 m. of flat wall. The embrasures beneath the arche-

24. E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op.cit.*, p. 112; R. Merlet, *op.cit.*, pp. 57-58.

25. One could recognize this better before the restoration of the porch (1906); some old photographs (Fig. 1) show the start of weather moldings on the porch flanks; the refacing of these areas has suppressed all such evidence.

26. R. Merlet, *op.cit.*, p. 60 (only the statues); M. Aubert, *op.cit.* (1928) (n. 1), pp. 95-96; S. Abdul-Hak, *op.cit.* (n. 1), pp. 199-200 and 232-234 (statues only); G. Schlag, *op.cit.* (n. 1), pp. 136-139 (attribution of the archevaults to the

sculptors of the statues); E. Mâle, *op.cit.* (n. 1), p. 53. The last-named author accepts a date later than 1224 only for the statues of St. Avitus and St. Laumerus, which he places around 1250-1255, that is, twenty-five years too late, according to this writer.

27. L. Pillon, *Les sculpteurs français du XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1910, p. 141 (all the statues of each portal are by the same hand); E. Mâle, *op.cit.*, pp. 51-52 (statues of St. Theodore and St. George dated around 1218-1220); G. Schlag, *op.cit.*, pp. 136-137 (St. Theodore dated ca. 1220-1225).
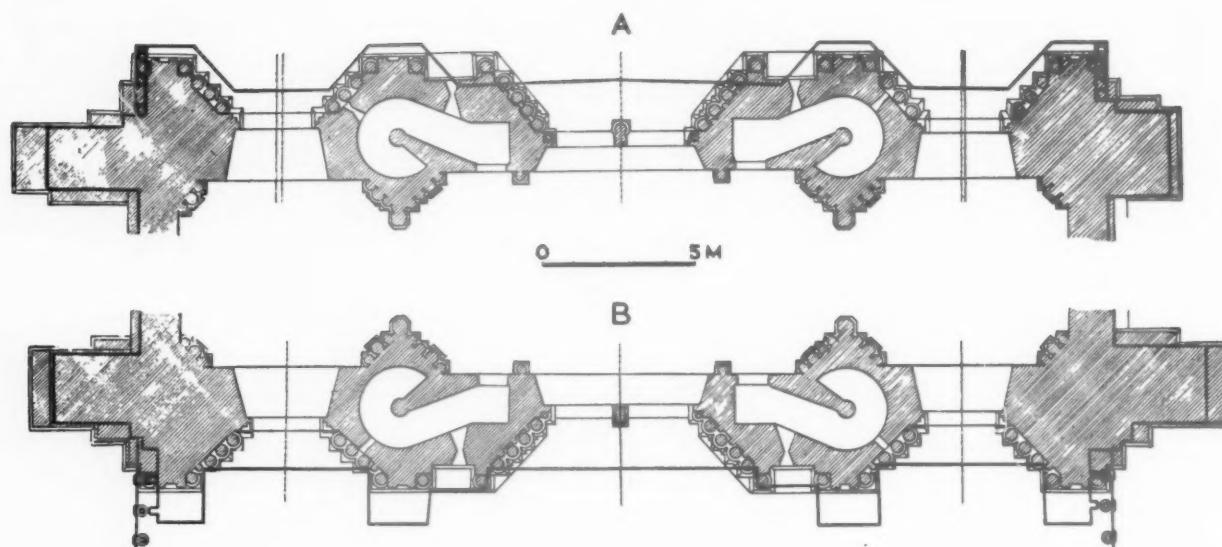
A-B. Chartres, Cathedral. Plans of the transept façades at ground level and at the level of the porch lintels. Present state. A. North wing. B. South wing.
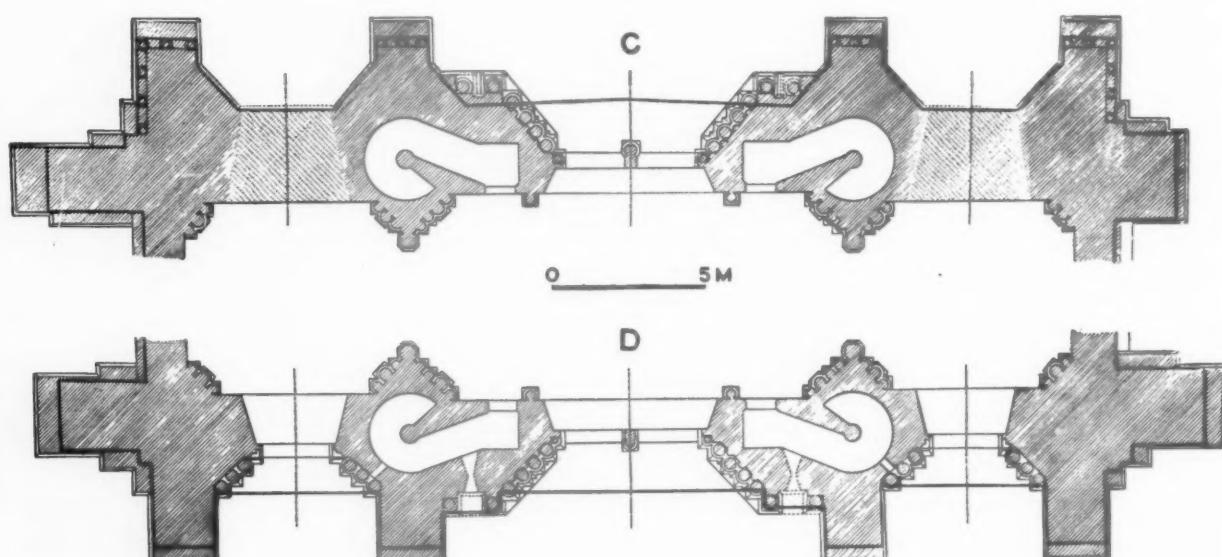
C-D. Chartres, Cathedral. Plans of the transept façades at ground level and at the level of the present porch lintels. Reconstruction of the original state. C. North wing. D. South wing.

vaults did not and do not have room for more than four statues on either side; four more statues, those of St. Simon, St. Jude, St. Matthew, and St. Bartholomew, are placed beneath the porch lintels, their colonnettes supporting the latter's ends (Fig. 5). They cannot, of course, have fulfilled this function before the porch was added. But were the statues themselves produced in connection with this addition? Such does not seem to be the case because the decoration of the portal, including the four statues in question, appears to have extended along the surface of the front wall. This assumption can be demonstrated by two considerations:

(1) To array the Twelve Apostles on the right and left of Christ was accepted iconography at the beginning of the thirteenth century as evidenced, for example, by Notre-Dame in Paris and

Amiens Cathedral.[28] Furthermore, the statues now placed beneath the lintels are too similar in style to those in the jambs to be considered as later additions.[29]

(2) The lower portions of the socles, constructed of long stones placed obliquely, continue from the back of the portal to its opening and project beyond the plane of the front wall just far enough to carry the socles of the statues; if the portal were complete with only the eight jamb statues, the presence of these projecting base moldings would be inexplicable.

We must, consequently, conceive of the central south portal as originally flanked by two pairs of statues attached to the transept wall. Their original relation to each other was, however, different from the present one. The statues of St. Jude and St. Simon (the farthest from the portal) could not have been in their present position since the flanks of the buttresses originally extended to this point. They must have been almost directly adjacent to their neighbors, St. Bartholomew and St. Matthew, beneath a projection of 0.55 m. of wall which subsists intact above the porch lintels on either side of the portal.[30] But the exact location of these two statues cannot be determined with certainty, since the wall was refaced when the porches were added.[31]

A disposition like this, with four statues aligned on the surface of the façade, ought not to appear strange. It can be accounted for by a natural tendency to reconcile the traditional decorative formula, implying only four jamb statues on either side of a portal, with the demands of the iconographical program which had been curtailed in earlier monuments.[32] Examples of this disposition can be found in the central west portal of Sens Cathedral, which originally had ten statues in the embrasures and two attached to the wall, and in the south portal of Strassburg Cathedral, linked to the art of Chartres by numerous and clearly definable ties. The idea of adorning the facing of the façade buttresses with statues, as at Amiens, is derived from the same principle.

In conclusion, we must ask to what extent our reconstruction of the southern transept wing, as it was before 1224, confirms Marcel Aubert's hypothesis according to which the side doors were constructed at the same time as the central portal, that is to say, at the very moment at which the transept itself was erected.[33] In order to answer this question we must examine the original state of the northern transept wing (Fig. 2).

III

In the north as in the south the addition of the porches made it necessary to cut back the buttresses.[34] However, the overhang at the level of the porch lintels is here considerably smaller, amounting as it does to a little less than 0.40 m. There are two reasons for this: the original shape of the buttresses was not the same as on the south transept, and their transformation was more radical. In the north, at clerestory level, the tops of the buttresses are crowned with pinnacles in the form of an aedicula with five columns (the central column slightly thicker) which are identical in form though not in size[35] with the pinnacles of the *culées* (abutments of the flying buttresses) in the choir. In the south, the buttresses project more vigorously, have no pinnacles, and run up to the level of the large gable; they are adorned on all sides with detached colonnettes *en délit* (mono-

28. For the iconographic program of the Apostles on the thirteenth century portals: S. Abdul-Hak, *op.cit.*, pp. 154ff.

29. In addition, the canopies of the statues of St. Bartholomew and St. Matthew, identical with those of the other statues, were obviously cut down at the moment of the construction of the porch lintels; therefore, we can assume that these two statues are really in place as originally planned.

30. The function of this projection remains a mystery for us: its dimensions correspond approximately to the projection of the statue socle; the distance between its two sections is identical with the width of the opening of the central portal.

31. The refacing of these walls is evident from the decoration of the sculptured arcatures, which are identical with those of the intrados of the north porch.

32. Incomplete program of the Apostolic College, Apostles, Prophets, and Precursors mingled, etc., are found at Mantes, Laon, St. Benigne at Dijon, etc. See S. Abdul-Hak, *op.cit.*, pp. 157-158.

33. M. Aubert, *op.cit.* (1928) (n. 1), p. 90; *op.cit.* (1946) (n. 1), p. 228.

34. Already observed by Abbé Bulteau, *op.cit.* (n. 15), II, pp. 162-163.

35. The western buttresses of the north wing are quite long, and have pinnacles in the form of aediculae with seven columns, which is a transference of the normal form as seen in the *culées* of the choir.

lithic, free-standing colonnettes), of which there is no trace in the north. This decoration of the southern transept wing represents a more advanced stylistic phase and amounts to a departure from the customary forms of Chartres architecture; it looks as though another master had decorated this wing at the end of the first third of the thirteenth century.[36] The aspect of the north transept is ruder, and its buttresses are so bare that it has been believed to have been left unfinished.[37] The real state of affairs is quite different.

From the aedicula-shaped pinnacles down to the point just above the porch lintels, the buttresses on the north façade uniformly project by only 0.15-0.20 m., unbroken by *glacis* (weather moldings).[38] Can this be the original form? Several observations prove that such is not the case. The central buttresses, concealing staircases, are carefully faced and show no traces of remodeling.[39] Not so with the outer buttresses which, seen from the east and west, are obviously incomplete. Their flanks are decorated with two storeys of arcades, the upper consisting of free colonnettes, the lower of colonnettes attached to the wall, and none of these arcades is complete. On the westernmost buttress, at the upper level, the third arch barely begins above the third colonnette and is cut short at its springing (Fig. 4). At the lowel level, the third arch is cut off exactly at its apex. On the easternmost buttress, both arcades are mutilated in the same fashion, and all these truncations are visible also from the north. Do they represent the beginnings of a decoration attempted but not finished or the remnants of an original one? We must decide in favor of the second alternative. The arcades are bound into the masonry of the buttresses and cannot possibly be considered as later additions. Furthermore, obvious traces of refacing are visible on the eastern buttress; we can observe an incrustation of stones taller than the ordinary masonry, and a filling of stones too short for the distance between the *queues* (long stones engaged in the masonry) of the lateral facing.[40] The pinnacles themselves, particularly those of the central buttresses, have been transformed and flattened by the removal of half their depth: the central column, instead of standing free, is placed against the wall, and the aediculas lack proportion and relief as compared to the intact pinnacles of the choir and transept. From all this we must conclude that the buttresses of the northern transept façade have been transformed, not only below but also above the level of the lintels.

Which was the original form of these buttresses? If we complete the lateral arcade we obtain an additional projection of 0.85-0.90 m., increasing the present projection (at the level of the porch gables) to 1.20-1.25 m.; and this total projection would have rested on the lintels had the buttresses not been flattened above this level. The northern faces of these buttresses must be imagined as decorated with arcades identical with those on their mutilated flanks. In sum, far from having been left unfinished and without ornamentation, the northern transept façade originally showed a coherent architectural decoration clearly more primitive than that of the southern façade. To date the mutilation of the buttresses is difficult. Most probably it took place in the fourteenth century, after 1316, when the fracture of one of the lintels brought about the famous expertise on the Cathedral and necessitated the renewal of the bases of one of the porch piers.[41] In order to reduce the weight supported by the lintels and to prevent similar troubles in the future, the buttresses were cut back above the porches. Their first transformation, however, carried out at the time when the porches were added, can have affected only the portion below the lintels. Up to the fourteenth century, the projection of the northern buttresses amounting to 1.20 m., was equal to that of the southern ones.[42]

36. E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op.cit.* (n. 17), p. 110, was thinking of a campaign intended to complete this wing around 1240.

37. R. Merlet, *op.cit.* (n. 21), p. 72.

38. In the south, as we have seen, the important projections are situated just above the level of the lintels.

39. The projection of these buttresses is, however, somewhat strange: at lintel level, they are cut ca. 0.05 m. behind the vertical plane.

40. The restorations of 1905-1907 suppressed a part of the irregularities of the buttresses in question; these can still be seen in the nineteenth century photographs preserved in the *Archives de la Commission des Monuments Historiques* in Paris.

41. See the publication of the text and the commentaries by V. Mortet, "L'expertise de la cathédrale de Chartres en 1316," *Congrès archéologique de France*, 1900, pp. 308-329 (in particular pp. 315-317); E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *op.cit.*, pp. 48-56.

42. More exactly, their overhang is identical with that on the south.

Let us now consider their width and plan. In width all the four northern buttresses are identical, measuring 1.70 m. at the level of the overhang, that is to say, a full 0.30 m. less than in the corresponding zone of the south wing. A horizontal section shows that they have oblique flanks forming an angle of approximately 45 degrees with the wall and covering 1.30-1.35 m. of its surface on either side. These oblique flanks still exist throughout the length of the buttresses, varying in dimensions and importance. They serve, in addition, to carry the lateral sections of the exterior passageway at the foot of the clerestory which, in the southern wing, rest on corbels. These massive, oblique portions of the buttresses must originally have continued to the ground, for it is impossible to think of their enormous weight hanging in the air without support.

When we superimpose the original cross section of the buttresses upon the ground plan of the façade (*text figs.* A and C), it is evident that they encroached upon the transept wall so as to make side portals impossible. Taking their oblique portions into account, we are left with an extremely narrow space of flat wall on either side, ca. 3.05 m. on the left and 3.00 m. on the right. It should also be noted that the embrasures of the present side portals are recessed behind the surface of the buttresses, cut into their mass. A last indication of the incompatibility of the ground plan of the buttresses with the location of the side portals is that the latter are not on axis with the bays of the façade; the left portal is 0.15 m. off axis, the right one, 0.20 m., each being shifted slightly toward the center. We must, therefore, conclude that the side portals of the north transept cannot have existed before the buttresses were cut back. They cannot have been planned when the transept wall was erected.

As for the central portal of the north façade, the problem is in many ways analogous to that encountered in the south. The development of this portal was not impeded by the distance between the buttresses (there remained 10.50 m. between them before they were cut back). As in the south, the oblique bases are carried beyond the plane of the wall and leave no room for statues in front of it. As in the south, these statues were probably four in number (Elijah, Melchizedek, St. Peter, Elisha).[43] As in the south, the exact location of the two prophets farthest from the portal cannot be determined with accuracy.

This examination of the northern transept façade leads to two conclusions. First, the buttresses, originally decorated with arcades, were cut back at some period from top to bottom. Second, no side portals were provided in the first plan, and they were added later. This second conclusion confirms that of Marcel Aubert, arrived at by an examination of the masonry which still bears traces of the patching of the portals.[44] His observations have been contested because the portals have suffered several alterations in the process of being strengthened and restored.[45] We are now able unequivocally to confirm Aubert's thesis on the basis of more general considerations, and this analysis of the northern transept throws light on the construction of the southern portals. The buttresses of the south transept have no oblique flanks but were built larger in order to equal the mass of those of the north transept. The only imaginable reason for this is that, when the south façade was planned, it had been decided to open two lateral portals: the distance between the buttresses exactly equals the over-all width of the lateral portals, including their embrasures, when reduced to only three statues in either jamb. Aubert has come to the same conclusion by observing the perfect regularity in masonry and dimensions. Erected several years after the north façade, the south façade was built after a decision in favor of lateral portals had already been made.

43. An interesting problem for the stylistic and iconographic study of the portals deserves to be mentioned here. The statues of the central north portal are not homogeneous; G. Schlag (*op.cit,* pp. 126-129) states with reason that each jamb is by a different atelier; moreover, the statues outside the jambs are not by the same hand, perhaps not even of the same date, as the eight Precursors of the portal. Otherwise precise analogies between Elijah and Elisha on the one hand and the statues of the High Priest and the woman accompanying him on the

north porch cannot be denied. But these problems cannot be resolved by the methods here employed.

44. M. Aubert, *op.cit.* (1928), p. 90.

45. G. Schlag, *op.cit.,* p. 158 n. 46. One must point out, however, that the traces of *collage* were clearly visible before the last restoration of the portal, as the early photographs lead us to think (for example, the photo Mieusement, preserved at the *Archives de la Commission des Monuments Historiques* at Paris).

Reconsidering once more the well-known relation between the foundations and the superstructure of the transept (it will be remembered that the corridors of the crypt beneath the side-aisles of the transept were brought up to the terminal walls but do not open onto the exterior),[46] we may establish the chronology of the construction of the portals as follows:

(1) When the foundations of the transept were laid (after 1194 and certainly before 1210), lateral portals were not contemplated either in the south or in the north.

(2) When the terminal wall of the northern transept wing (completed after 1210) was constructed, a single portal was placed in the center and no room was left for lateral portals.

(3) When the terminal wall of the southern transept wing was constructed (certainly a few years before 1217-1220), the lateral portals were planned from the outset and built at the same time as the central portal.

(4) The side portals of the northern façade were constructed at a time not earlier than the construction of the south façade but not later than the construction of the north porch.

Unfortunately we do not possess precise information as to the latter's date. It has been said that the north porch was more recent than the south porch which, we remember, was added after 1224.[47] A more rigorous analysis of the architectural forms (and of the style of certain sculptures)[48] will enable us, I am sure, to prove the opposite. But this is not within the compass of the present paper. We can affirm only that the years 1220-1224 must be considered as the *terminus ante quem* for the opening of the side portals in the north and for the planning of the northern porch.

All our conclusions, of course, refer only to the construction of the portals, viz. the placement of the sculptures. It is with arguments of another character—viz. iconographical and stylistic comparisons—that one must seek to determine the dates of the sculpture itself, though always within the chronological framework established by the history of the building. In any case, it is evident that the six portals can neither have received their sculptural decoration before 1210 as claimed by Medding[49] nor conceived about 1200 as supposed by Schlag.[50]

The reconstruction here presented needs some further explanation. Only the plan of the buttresses of both façades at two different levels may be regarded as certain. But even this permits us to draw some further conclusions. In the south, the portals built before 1217-1220 had only three statues in either jamb. The fact that this principle was also respected in the north is further evidence of the assumption that this façade was completed before the transformation of the southern one. Both central portals, conceived with four statues in either jamb and supplementary figures on the front wall of the façade, represent a twelfth century formula which is more archaic than that followed in the portals of Notre-Dame at Paris, which has six jamb statues on either side. This, then, creates a presumption in favor of dating the first plans for the Chartres transept wings before ca. 1210 (Portal of the Virgin at Notre-Dame). Another comparison, finally, seems to be indicated: the first plan for the transept façades of Reims Cathedral, nearly completely realized in the southern wing, seems to have been inspired by the plan of the northern transept wing at Chartres: it, too, provides no side portals and includes buttresses with oblique flanks that join the rectangular core to the wall. Hence it is probable that the first plans for the Reims transept were conceived about 1212-1214, and this in turn would seem to corroborate the chronology proposed in this paper.[51]

ZURBARÁN'S ALTAR OF SAINT PETER

MARTIN S. SORIA

I

THE Altar of Saint Peter at Seville Cathedral contains some of Zurbarán's most interesting paintings. They belong to one of the few ensembles still in the same place for which the master painted them. Yet they have never been adequately published. Two problems present themselves: authenticity and date. One asks: (a) are all paintings by Zurbarán himself, and if not, which ones are to be considered as by him? (b) what is their date?

These questions are not merely of academic interest. If the paintings were done in 1625 as almost universally believed, the altar would constitute the principal basis for recognizing the style of Zurbarán's beginnings and would be a point of departure for any study of the master's art. If, on the other hand, the altar was painted in the middle thirties, its style would disclose Zurbarán's manner in full maturity. Therefore the correct dating represents a key problem for an understanding of Zurbarán's development and pictorial aims.

The altar is in the Chapel of Saint Peter next to the chapel containing the main altar. It comprises the following ten paintings, all until now ascribed to Zurbarán. In the center is *Saint Peter Enthroned* (Fig. 5); flanked by *Saint Peter's Vision of the Unclean Beasts* (Figs. 4, 7), at the left; and the *Repentant Saint Peter* (Figs. 6, 8), at the right. In the second tier are, to the left, *Saint Peter Liberated by the Angel* (Fig. 1); in the center, the *Immaculate Conception* (Fig. 2); and to the right, *Quo Vadis?* (Fig. 3). In the predella are, at the left, *Saint Peter Walking on the Sea* (Fig. 9); in the center, *Christ Delivering the Keys to Saint Peter*; and at the right, *Saint Peter Healing the Lame* (Fig. 10). In the pinnacle, *God the Father Blessing* has been replaced by a copy, and the original is presumably lost. The entire altar, including the paintings, is quite large and measures fifty by twenty-five feet.

	Left Wing	Center	Right Wing
pinnacle		God the Father Blessing	
second tier	Saint Peter Liberated by the Angel (Fig. 1)	The Immaculate Conception (Fig. 2)	Quo Vadis? (Fig. 3)
first tier	Saint Peter's Vision of the Unclean Beasts (Figs. 4 and 7)	Saint Peter Enthroned (Fig. 5)	The Repentant Saint Peter (Figs. 6 and 8)
predella	Saint Peter Walking on the Sea (Fig. 9)	Christ Delivering the Keys to Saint Peter	Saint Peter Healing the Lame (Fig. 10)

Tormo,[1] in 1941, expressed the opinion that the hitherto universally accepted date of 1625 might appear somewhat strained ("violento"). Independently, the author in 1944 arrived at the same

conclusion and gave detailed reasons why, in his opinion, the altar paintings should be dated between 1636 and 1638.[2] The author's suggestion was quoted in 1945 by one of Spain's foremost art historians and connoisseurs, Enrique Lafuente Ferrari.[3] Nobody has sharper, more sensitive eyes than Lafuente, who improved on the author's dating by mentioning the altar together with the Carthusian scenes, of about 1633, at the Seville Museum. On the other hand, a distinguished Zurbarán scholar, Paul Guinard, declined in 1946 to see any reason for deviating from the traditional date.[4] In a second publication, in 1948, he declared himself still unconvinced by the author's inferences based on style, but suggested that because of newly found documents it would be wise to "neutralize" the altar paintings for the time being.[5] Guinard, at that time, no longer believed that the altar should be dated in 1625 and suggested a date of 1625-1630. For documentary and stylistic reasons this proposal is still unacceptable to the author. However, he is now inclined to believe that the most reasonable date for the altar paintings might be between 1633 and 1635. Thus, instead of the eleven years originally separating both opinions (1625 versus 1636), the difference has now shrunk to ten significant years at the most and three years at the least (1630 versus 1633).

II

This paper will discuss in detail all pertinent documents found so far and then proceed to investigate the style. Zurbarán's paintings for the Saint Peter chapel had always been dated in 1625, because Ceán reported that the Marquis of Malagón ordered the altar (*not* the paintings) in that year.[6] The paintings are, however, neither dated nor documented. The chapel itself had been ceded in 1525 to the same Archbishop Tavera, founder of the Hospital of St. John de Afuera at Toledo, whom El Greco later depicted in a posthumous portrait. In a document of January 11, 1525, the Cathedral Chapter granted the chapel to Tavera as a burial place for himself, his brother Diego Pardo Tavera, the latter's wife María de Saavedra, and their descendants.[7] The Marquise of

2. Martin S. Soria, *Gazette des beaux-arts*, March 1944, pp. 159-160.

3. Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, *Breve historia de la pintura española*, Madrid, 1946, p. 165.

4. Paul Guinard, *Archivo español de arte*, 1946, no. 76, pp. 255-257. This is the first of three important articles by M. Guinard in the *Archivo*. Dealing with the original and subsequent location of Zurbarán's works and presented in the form of a commentary to Ceán (see note 6), M. Guinard's ingenious and cautious deductions are almost entirely acceptable. His studies are an indispensable and gratefully received aid for every Zurbarán scholar. The present article discusses one of the few points which remain debatable.

5. Paul Guinard, *Archivo español de arte*, 1949, no. 85, pp. 35-36.

6. Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*, Madrid, 1800, VI, p. 45; idem, *Descripción artística de la catedral de Sevilla*, 1804, p. 61. Tavera was, incidentally, a nephew of Fray Diego Deza, Archbishop of Seville, of whom Zurbarán painted a posthumous portrait, datable about 1629 and now in New York.

7. See José Hernández Díaz, *Universidad de Sevilla, Laboratorio de Arte, Documentos para la historia de arte en Andalucía*, Seville, 1927, I, pp. 43-44. Diego and María's son, Antonio Arias Pardo de Saavedra (d. 1561), Baron of Malagón, was married first to Guiomar Zapata Carrillo de Mendoza, fifth Countess of Priego, and in second nuptials, in 1547, to Luisa de la Cerda, a descendant of St. Ferdinand and Alphonse X the Wise, Kings of Castille, as well as of St. Louis, King of France. As the sister of Juan de la Cerda, fourth Duke of Medinaceli and Viceroy of Sicily and Navarre, she was one of the greatest ladies in Spain. She is more famous as the close friend of St. Teresa, who at her invitation founded the convent of Malagón. Doña Luisa's daughter Guiomar Pardo Tavera de la Cerda figures in the Saint's letters (see *The Letters of St. Teresa*, edited by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, London, 1919-24, II, pp. 76, 264, 316; IV, p. 16). Doña Guiomar's six brothers and sisters having died young, she inherited the huge property of her parents and further increased her fortune by her first marriage to Juan de Zúñiga, son and heir of the late Luis de Requessens y Zúñiga, one of Spain's military heroes. Don Luis, with Juan of Austria, won the battle of Lepanto and succeeded the Duke of Alba as Governor of the Netherlands. His son Juan (born in 1559) was about the same age as Doña Guiomar but died in May 1577 after seven months of marriage (see Luis de Salazar y Castro, *Historia de la casa de Silva*, Madrid, 1685, I, pp. 326-327; M. Morel-Fatio, *Bulletin hispanique*, IX, 1907, pp. 87-91). In 1578 Doña Guiomar took as her second husband Juan de Guzmán, son of the fourth Count of Alba de Liste, and after his death she married Don Duarte of Portugal. All three marriages remained childless. In 1599, Philip III of Spain made Doña Guiomar the first Marquise of Malagón, and Don Duarte was the second Marquis. When he died the title went to a relative of Doña Guiomar, Fernando Miguel Arias de Saavedra y Ulloa Pardo Tavera, the sixth Count of Castellar. I suspect that either he or persons named in Don Duarte's will (see below) ordered the paintings from Zurbarán.

Don Duarte was born in 1569 in his native Portugal, a son of João I, sixth Duke of Braganza and of Catherine of Braganza, cousin of Philip II. The Spanish King, having occupied Portugal in 1580, sought to attract the Braganza family to Spain in order to allay any tendencies of rebellion. Thus Duarte lived at the Spanish court under the three Philips, II, III, and IV, and was created Marquis of Frechilla in 1592 and later a Grandee of Spain. In 1596 he married Beatriz de Toledo y Pimentel, Marquise of Jarandilla and daughter of the

Malagón, who in 1620 contracted for the making of the Altar of Saint Peter, was a direct descendant of Tavera's brother. Her full name was Doña Guiomar Pardo Tavera de la Cerda, Marquise of Malagón and Frechilla. She was the wife of Duarte, Marquis of Frechilla, and she was a resident of Triana, a suburb of Seville, although in 1620 she appears to have lived in Madrid. This contract of 1620 is of capital importance, as we shall see. Like some other significant documents, it has never been cited in the discussion regarding the date of Zurbarán's paintings. It is one of five documents dated in 1620 and related to the retable.[8] On January 13, the Cathedral Chapter authorized three people to deal "with the person, who is here, in the matter of equipping the Chapel of Saint Peter in the name of its patrons with an altar and a high iron grille." On March 10, the Chapter voted a letter of thanks "to the Marquis of Malagón for his zeal in undertaking to furnish the chapel with altar and grille." At about this time, Doña Guiomar (named together with her husband as patron of the chapel) appointed a representative in an act signed at Madrid. This was her majordomo and rent collector, Pedro Alvarez, who was ordered to have the walls of the chapel whitewashed and to commission an altar and a grille, all to be paid from the moneys of the Marquise. Alvarez was to use his judgment as to the form of the altar.

On May 14, Alvarez exercised the powers given him by signing, in the name of the Marquise, a contract with Diego López Bueno "architect, sculptor, and Overseer of Building for the city of Seville and its diocese." Guarantors for the fulfillment of the contract were Enrique Franco, architect, sculptor, and organ builder, and Vicente Perea, painter and gilder. Diego López Bueno obligated himself to make for the Chapel of Saint Peter a wooden retable, including the painting, gilding and stuccowork. The sketch with directives on the making was provided by Miguel de Zumárraga, painter and architect-in-chief of the Cathedral. "This retable is to have seven paintings, three in the center, and two at each side. The paintings in the center will be *Saint Peter*, in the first tier; the *Annunciation*, in the second; and *God the Father*, in the third; and in the wings of the first tier, *Saint John the Evangelist*, at the left; and *Saint Anthony* of Padua, at the right; and in the second tier, *Saints Justa* and *Rufina*. . . . For all these pictures, stretchers are to be provided. All is to be done, within a year, for 2250 ducats."[8a] López Bueno seems to have functioned as contractor for the entire retable, being obliged to do, in his shop, the carving of the woodwork. As was customary, contracts for the oil paintings and the gilding were to be sublet. Indeed, on August 11, Baltasar Quintero and Vicente Perea subcontracted with López Bueno for gilding the retable within six months for 700 ducats.

The contract for the execution of the paintings has not, as yet, been found. Close visual inspection has convinced the author that the *Saint Peter Enthroned*, in the center, does not correspond to Zurbarán's style or generation. The document just cited proves that it belongs, indeed, to the first construction program, and in that case it was probably painted sometime between 1620 and 1625. This *Saint Peter* is the only painting, now in the altar, fulfilling the conditions of the original contract. The wretched, eighteenth century *God the Father*, at the top, is, according to Ceán, "a copy replacing an excellent" version of the subject.[9] Until the original contract with Zurbarán reappears, it seems idle to speculate whether this lost *God the Father* was by Zurbarán or by the painter of the *Saint Peter Enthroned*. We shall try to show, later on, who Diego López was, and discuss whether it would have been likely that he called the young Zurbarán to his first Sevillian commission.

fifth Count of Oropesa, from whom Duarte had children. After her death, he married Doña Guiomar. At Madrid he acted as judge of poetic contests and knightly equestrian games, and was host to the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I, and to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Papal Legate. He died at Madrid on May 28, 1627. In his will, made one day earlier, he named as heirs his grandchildren Duarte Fernando Alvarez de Toledo y Portugal, eighth Count of Oropesa, and the latter's sister Doña Mariana, fifth Marquise of Velez. Executors of the will were Duarte's majordomo and treasurer, Antonio de la Mota, Pedro de Castillo, Juan Mendes de

Fonseca, and the lawyers Antonio Paes Viegas and Gonzalo de Sousa de Macedo (see Antonio Caetano de Sousa, *Historia genealogica de la casa real portugueza*, Lisbon, 1742, IX, pp. 1-17; *idem, Provas da historia, etc.*, Lisbon, 1746, V, pp. 383-433, printing the will in full).

8. See Celestino López Martínez, *Desde Martínez Montañes hasta Pedro Roldán*, Seville, 1932, p. 71; Hernández Díaz, *op.cit.*, I, p. 45.

8a. See note 8.

9. Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario*, VI, pp. 47-48.

On August 8, 1625, Juan Martínez Montañés, Seville's greatest sculptor, appraised, together with the painter Antonio Pérez, the completed retable made in the meantime by Diego López Bueno. This document has not been mentioned hitherto in discussing the retable.[10] Both appraisers were appointed by Simón Baez Enríquez, Comptroller of the *Casa de Contratación*, the mighty crown organization ruling the Indies, and by the Jesuit Father Negrete. This was done on behalf of Don Duarte, Marquis of Frechilla, because at this date the Marquise of Malagón, Doña Guiomar Pardo Tavera, was no longer alive. It will be noted that most persons mentioned in the documents concerning the altar were of rank and prominence. Montañés and Pérez stated that they looked carefully at the retable completed by Diego López, and that they had first read the conditions and sketches for its architecture, sculpture, and building. Then they compared the retable as a whole, and each piece "one by one" with the sketches: the ornaments and sculptured adornments, capitals, tablets, mouldings, coats-of-arms, pinnacles, façades, stretchers, and oak panels "*for* the canvases of painting" (i.e. the canvases themselves were not yet in place). They found that everything corresponded to the plans and conditions, "not only the architecture and sculpture but also the gilding," all done to perfection. Having found everything in best order and entirely completed, they appraised "the wood sculpture, architecture and gilding for 30,240 reales, that is, 5,400 reales more than the 2,250 ducats originally agreed upon for the retable." It is significant that in this very careful and detailed description all parts of the retable are mentioned, even the stretchers and the oak panels "for the canvases," but not the canvases themselves. This would seem to permit only one conclusion: the canvases were not yet made.

Indeed, one month later, on September 24, 1625, the Cathedral Chapter told two of its members to write the Marquis of Malagón and to ask him to furnish the sketch and anything necessary for placing in position the retable, "which has been executed" for the Chapel of Saint Peter. However, the Chapter may not even have waited for an answer, for, on October 3, 1625, it ordered that the retable "be put in place and *that the voids where there are to be paintings be thereupon covered up with panels*."[11] The secretary was asked to write to the Marquis of Malagón and to Don Duarte of Portugal asking them to complete the retable, "according to the obligations and the intentions with which it was begun." This can refer only to the missing paintings. In fact, the wording seems to imply that the pictures were not only unfinished but not even, as yet, commissioned. For what other reason would it have been necessary to remind the patrons of the chapel of their obligation? The Chapter did not say that the paintings were then being made by anyone, or that they had even been commissioned. Evidently, their completion was not expected in the near future, otherwise they would not have ordered that the voids be boarded up.

The resolutions of the Chapter to write the Marquis regarding the completion of the altar were passed four and two weeks, respectively, before Montañés, in a second appraisal not mentioning the pictures, swore to having seen the altar in place. It seems evident that they could not have been finished in so short a time.

On October 20,[12] Montañés and Pérez stated once more how they had inspected the retable, piece by piece, on the ground, and that they afterward saw the retable put in place, in the chapel, with plummet and level; that the architecture, sculpture, and gilding were perfect, corresponding in all particulars to the plans, and that Diego López Bueno "had completed his obligations entirely." Since the paintings were again not mentioned, one may conclude that they did not yet exist, and that, furthermore, the original contract of 1620 had been altered, at some time before 1625, to exclude the paintings from López Bueno's obligations, without deducting, however, their price from the 2,250 ducats fixed for the entire work. These, then, are all the published documents that refer directly to the Retable of Saint Peter.

10. López Martínez, *Retablos y esculturas de traza sevillana*, pp. 30-31.

11. Hernández Díaz, *op.cit.*, I, p. 46.
12. *ibid.*, pp. 200-201.

At this point it should be stated that Diego López Bueno (ca. 1565-1632) was the most successful and sought-after contractor, architect, and maker of retables in Seville. He was supervisor of building for the Royal Palace, the city of Seville, and the entire diocese. More than one hundred published documents tell of his life and works.[13] These documents alone concern more than forty retables done by him in Seville and surroundings. Evidently, he did many more. The most important Sevillian artists of the time—the sculptor Martínez Montañés, and the painters Pacheco, Roelas, and Legot—were his close friends and shared his commissions. Is it credible that he should have worked with Zurbarán, who in 1625 was an obscure artist, not even a resident of the city, and had not yet painted a single work for a Sevillian church?

Another group of documents, tending to prove that Zurbarán could not have done the paintings for the Retable of Saint Peter before 1630, needs to be but briefly summarized. It is now definitely established that from 1617 until September 1628 the painter lived at Llerena, an Extremaduran town even now four hours from Seville by train and then a journey of two and a half days. When the city counsellor Rodrigo Suárez, in June 1629, asked the city council to invite Zurbarán to move from Llerena to Seville, Suárez stated that the painter had been brought from Llerena to the Andalusian capital by the Mercedarian convent to do the pictures for the newly erected cloister. From the work the artist had executed there and from the *Crucifixion* at San Pablo, one could judge that he was an accomplished master. In referring to the Merced and to San Pablo, Suárez recorded the two most important commissions done by the master up to that time at Seville. The counsellor would have made his case much stronger by mentioning the paintings at the Cathedral had they existed. Surely he kept silent about the paintings for the Altar of Saint Peter, only because, as we assume, these were not begun until five years later. Zurbarán quickly accepted the offer extended by the city council of Seville, hoping for important commissions. Realization of this hope aroused the jealousy of Alonso Cano and other painters. Upon their instigation, on May 23, 1630, the examining masters of the painters' guild asked Zurbarán to present himself within three days to be examined by them. The painter protested to the city council, requesting that he be left in peace. He stated that the council had invited him to settle permanently at Seville after he had come there temporarily as a resident of Llerena in order to paint for the sacristy of San Pablo and for the cloister of the Mercedarian convent. If Zurbarán, by this time, had painted or even been commissioned to paint the far more important Altar of Saint Peter in Seville's main church, the Cathedral, he would surely have mentioned it in his defense against the demand to be examined. His silence is eloquent.

The documentary evidence thus tends to prove: (1) that Zurbarán had nothing to do with the original painting program of 1620, (2) that this original program was abandoned, and (3) that, in 1625, the retable was put in place without the pictures, which apparently had not even been commissioned. The evidence further shows (4) that Zurbarán lived at Llerena from 1617 to 1628, and strongly suggests (5) that the pictures were not yet in place in May 1630. In fact, they are not mentioned even in P. Espinosa de los Monteros' *Teatro de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana*, Seville, 1635.

III

Vastly more conclusive, in the author's opinion, than all documentary evidence, is the style of the pictures done by Zurbarán for the altar. When documents and style contradict each other, it is the style rather than the documents that ought to be trusted, provided the style is "read" correctly. The work of art itself presents the primary evidence, while documents conflicting with sound stylistic

13. López Martínez, *Retablos y esculturas de traza sevillana*, Seville, 1928; *idem, Arquitectores, escultores y pintores vecinos de Sevilla*, Seville, 1928; *idem, Desde Jerónimo Hernández hasta Martínez Montañés*, Seville, 1929; *idem, Desde Martínez Montañés hasta Pedro Roldán* (*cit.* n. 8); also Hernández Díaz, *Documentos* (*cit.* n. 7), I and II, 1927-1930.

analysis seem open to doubt. If, for instance, documents stated that certain paintings were put in place in 1625, while stylistic analysis would show they could not have been painted before 1635, the author would prefer to assume (a) that the document had been made out in error, writing 1625 where 1635 was intended, or (b) that it had been misread, or (c) that pictures put in place in 1625 had been destroyed and new ones been made in 1635. In the present instance no such problem exists, for the negative evidence of the documents and the stylistic analysis, far from conflicting, complement each other.

A stylistic analysis of all pictures comprising the Retable of Saint Peter will now be attempted. The author studied the paintings closely, from a high ladder and with good artificial light. On account of its archaic character, the *Saint Peter Enthroned* in pontifical dress (Fig. 5) has often been advanced as an argument for dating the paintings early.[14] The style of this picture is quite different from Zurbarán's art. In the author's belief it was not painted by Zurbarán at all, although the master may, at most, have repainted such a detail as the brooch holding the cope. The picture's brushwork and its folds do not seem to correspond to Zurbarán's manner, but to an earlier, less disciplined and much more loosely applied technique, of a type used by the older Herrera and, later, by Valdés Leal. However, it is not by either one of these painters. The curtains above the Saint are painted in very bold slashes, derived from Tintoretto. This fact and the general style point to a date early in the seventeenth century and seem to rule out Zurbarán's authorship altogether. As suggested above, this picture is probably the only work done according to the contract of 1620, in which it is listed. This contract defined the original program, later abandoned.

The discerning Sevillian scholars may be able to determine whether the picture could be by Vicente de Perea. He was a Portuguese by birth, born at Evora, and was active at Seville since, at the latest, 1614. In 1639, presumably shortly before his death, he made his will there.[15] According to the contract of 1620 he did the gilding for the Retable of Saint Peter, and since he was an "image painter," he might also have painted the *Saint Peter Enthroned*. Ponz, late in the eighteenth century, either knew that the paintings corresponded to two different programs, or he was able to distinguish stylistically between the *Saint Peter Enthroned* and the other paintings. Significantly enough, he said: "*Almost* all the pictures in it [namely, the Retable of Saint Peter] are by Francisco de Zurbarán."[16]

Actually, three other paintings in the retable appear not to be by Zurbarán's own hand either, although they are by his shop. These are the *Quo Vadis?* (Fig. 3), the *Saint Peter Walking on the Sea* (Fig. 9), and *Christ Handing the Keys to Saint Peter*, the two latter scenes being in the predella. In the *Quo Vadis?* (Fig. 3) the folds, faces, hands, and feet are very poor and crude, inferior to, but recalling the style of the *Apostolado*, at the Seville Museum, and of paintings at San Esteban, both formerly ascribed to the brothers Polanco, but more probably by Bernabé de Ayala, another pupil of Zurbarán. The two predella scenes at the left and center are also much cruder in brushwork and modeling of folds and faces than the *Saint Peter Healing the Lame* (Fig. 10) to the right. The idea and design in the two inferior pictures were apparently by the master, who may have painted, in the center predella, the heads of Christ, Saint John the Evangelist, and Saint Peter. The rest was, in the author's opinion, painted by the shop. The stylistic weaknesses of these three pictures should, therefore, not be used as argument in favor of dating all pictures of the retable early in the artist's life.

This leaves five pictures for Zurbarán: the *Immaculate Conception* (Fig. 2), *Saint Peter's Vision of the Unclean Beasts* (Figs. 4, 7), the *Repentant Saint Peter* (Figs. 6, 8), *Saint Peter Liberated by*

14. This figure is based on traditional iconography of which an earlier example still exists in Seville Cathedral. It was published by Diego Angulo in *Archivo español de arte*, 1930, to which fact Prof. Chandler R. Post kindly called my attention. Better known are the two versions by the Portuguese painter Vasco Fernandes, at São João Tarouca and Viseu,

reproduced by Luis Reis Santos, *Vasco Fernandes e os pintores de Viseu do seculo XVI*, Lisbon, 1946, frontispiece and plate LI.

15. López Martínez, *Retablos* (*cit.* n. 13), pp. 98-99; idem, *Desde Martínez Montañés*, p. 197.

16. Antonio Ponz, *Viaje de España*, Madrid, 1777, IX,1, 57.

the Angel (Fig. 1), and *Saint Peter Healing the Lame* (Fig. 10). A stylistic analysis of these pictures should determine the date of Zurbarán's work on the retable. In 1944 the author wrote: "The two flanking figures of Saint Peter cannot be of the early period, because they are much too advanced in the lighting, in the drawing of the drapery, in the landscape setting, and in the Riberesque realism which closely parallels the Grenoble paintings."[17] Where would one find among the paintings of the early style the intense chiaroscuro lighting which gives such great plasticity to the heads, and at the sleeves bites deeply into the folds? The draperies are wavy and, pulling away from the figures, project into space. This seems to occur first in the *Mercedarians*, of about 1633, at the Academy of San Fernando at Madrid. There, the draperies are designed to lead the eye around the figures, just as in the canvases of Saint Peter. Landscape settings, recessed in space, occur first and by exception in two paintings of about 1631. Zurbarán did not use them again until 1634. From then onward they became a regular feature of his work. A striking example of what Zurbarán could, or could not, do in 1626 is furnished by the *Apparition of the Virgin in Soriano*, at Santa Magdalena, Seville.[18] Here, Saint Catherine holds an image representing Saint Dominic. The landscape is ill organized and is painted without spatial recession. The landscapes of the Saint Peter pictures, on the other hand, are wide and airy, corresponding to those of the *Hercules* series of 1634, in the Prado, and others done thereafter.

As to the Riberesque realism, Guinard suggested that Zurbarán could have seen at Osuna, fifty miles east of Seville, pictures by Ribera any time after 1620.[19] Ribera's *Dying Christ on the Cross*, in Osuna's Collegiate Church, was painted before 1620. The French scholar pointed out that it would thus not be necessary to date the Saint Peter retable after Zurbarán's trip to Madrid in 1634. However, it would seem unlikely that Zurbarán, living at Llerena, visited Osuna, and it is not certain that Ribera's picture was installed at Osuna before the death of the Duke of Alcalá in 1625 or even before that of his Duchess about ten years later. Furthermore, if the author is correct in assuming for stylistic reasons that Zurbarán went to the court for the first time about 1626 or 1627,[20] he could have studied Ribera even then. It is, however, one thing to suggest what Zurbarán might have done, and another to see what he actually did. Not one painting painted before 1633 by Zurbarán shows, in the author's belief, any influence of Ribera, either in type or in brushwork. The Saint Peter figures, however, show influence of both. As far as the author is aware, the earliest paintings in which Zurbarán may have been affected by Ribera belong to the Lisbon *Apostolado*, of 1633. However, there the stimulus seems only possible, not certain. The *Hercules* series, of 1634, on the other hand, would appear to be the first unquestionable example of Ribera's influence, seen there in brushwork and facial types. This would make it probable that the Saint Peter retable was painted, at the earliest, at about the same time.

Both figures of Saint Peter show Zurbarán at the height of his power in representing three-dimensional space. One may observe how in *Saint Peter's Vision of the Unclean Beasts* (Fig. 4) both arms are posed and painted to emphasize spatial depth—something one would search for in vain during the 1620's—and how light penetrates between the fingers of either hand determining their position and relationship. This, Zurbarán did not know how to do in 1630, and much less in 1625 or 1626. In the *Vision of the Blessed Alonso Rodríguez*, of 1630, at the Academy, Madrid, for instance, the hands are as yet far less integrated; and light is not used with the same success. There, the hands are harder, more statuesque, less warm and alive. Comparing this picture and *Saint Peter Repentant* (Figs. 6, 8), the same effect may be seen in the heads. While the former is still drawn almost as if with a pencil, the latter is more sketchy and summary in treatment, and

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17. Soria, *op.cit.* (n. 2), p. 160.

18. See the author's forthcoming *Francisco de Zurbarán* (complete edition of his oeuvre), Phaidon Press, London, for a discussion of Zurbarán's style between 1625 and 1630 on the basis of thirty-five paintings, many reproduced, as will be other pictures mentioned in this paper. For two early paintings

datable about 1625, see *Art Quarterly*, 1951.

19. Guinard, *Archivo*, 1946, pp. 255-257. However, the author did not state that Zurbarán could have seen paintings by Ribera *only* at the Alcazar of Madrid, in 1634.

20. Reasons for believing that Zurbarán went to Madrid for the first time in 1626 or 1627 will be stated in another article.

much more plastic. This more three-dimensional quality may be noted at the forehead and the cheek-bones, which in the *Beato* are, relatively speaking, flatter. The stronger chiaroscuro contrast in the *Saint Peter* also speaks for a later date.

In *Saint Peter's Vision of the Unclean Beasts* (Fig. 4), the pose of Saint Peter's left hand resembles that in Velázquez's *Portrait of Cristóbal Suárez de Ribera*, of 1620, at Seville. Both painters may have seen the gesture in Flemish or Italian prints.[21] The position, type, and modeling of the head and the modeling and pose of the hands give a very important clue, not discussed previously, for determining the date of the picture. They recur in the Saint Joachim of an *Immaculate Conception with Saints Joachim and Anne*, of about 1638, at Edinburgh; in the kneeling Angel, at the left of the *Flagellation of Saint Jerome* of 1639, at Guadalupe; and in a *Saint Andrew*, probably painted shortly after 1638, at San Francisco, Lima. Zurbarán usually repeated motifs soon after their first appearance, although there are exceptions to this rule. But in this instance the motif was repeated several times within a few years. Furthermore, the modeling and the use of light and shade are so similar in all examples cited that they appear to be from the same period. These comparisons would thus provide not only a terminus ad quem, 1638-1639, but also make it probable that the Saint Peter retable was painted, at most, a few years before that year.

The *Immaculate Conception* (Fig. 2) is related to two of the three *Carthusian Scenes*, of about 1633, in the Museum of Seville. The folds at the hem of her mantle should be compared to those at the lower edge of Pope Urban's robe. The Madonna's face is similar to that of the *Virgin as Protectress of the Carthusians*, where the pose of the body is inverted. The hair at the left side of the Virgin's neck is in the shadow, except for a ray of light establishing the proper spatial relationships. This device does not seem to occur before 1632 or 1633. The hands joined in prayer allow light to penetrate between them to indicate their distance from the robe; and for the same purpose a shadow is thrown on the robe by hands and arms. Studying Zurbarán's paintings, done before 1633, one will not easily find such an arrangement. In the *Immaculate Conception* of 1616, formerly owned by López Cepero at Seville and now in the collection of Felix Valdés at Bilbao, the arms and hands rest flat against the chest. In the *My Soul Doth Magnify the Lord*, of 1630-1631, Millet Collection, Barcelona, no shadows are thrown and the hands are pressed together. This is also true of the *Immaculate Conception with Two Children*, signed in 1632, in the Aladro Collection, Cadiz, in spite of the fact that it is modeled after a Sadeler print where the Virgin's hands are separated and where light and shade appear underneath, behind them, and on the Virgin's garment. The *Immaculate Conception* of about 1632, in the Cerralbo Museum at Madrid, comes closer in pose to the picture in the Retable of Saint Peter, but it is still less advanced in the chiaroscuro effect of the hands, and above all, in the design of the cloak, which does not lead the eye around as it does in the Sevillian example. In the pose of body, arms, hands, and head, as well as in the arrangement of the mantle, no *Immaculate Conception* is closer to the one in the Cathedral of Seville than the *Conception* at Edinburgh of about 1638. In the last paragraph it was found that this picture shows other close parallels to the Retable of Saint Peter; thus, still another argument for dating the retable in the mid-1630's is provided.

Guinard argued that the Madonnas in the *Immaculate Conception* of the Saint Peter retable and in the *Apparition of the Virgin in Soriano* of 1626-1627 in Santa Magdalena both wear a crown and are dressed similarly.[22] In the author's opinion they are far from being dressed similarly; and as to the crown, it is worn by the Madonna in four other paintings done by Zurbarán in 1626, 1633, and 1638, as well as by several Murillo Madonnas of the 1640's. Pacheco advised that in the *Immacu-*

21. Anna Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, New York, 1896, I, p. 195, mentions a print after a Guercino composition of *Saint Peter's Vision of the Unclean Beasts* which, considering the rarity of the subject, might be suspected of having a bearing on the date of Zurbarán's version. Unfortunately, I have not been able to trace either the print or the original. Zurbarán

found the subject, not the composition, in a stone relief by Maveos Cabrera, commissioned in 1590, in the chapter hall of Seville Cathedral (see *La escultura en Andalucía*, Universidad de Sevilla, Laboratorio de Arte, Seville, 1927, I, pl. 78).

22. Guinard, *Archivo*, 1946, pp. 255-257.

1. Zurbarán, *Saint Peter Liberated by the Angel*

2. Zurbarán, *The Immaculate Conception*

3. Workshop of Zurbarán, *Quo Vadis?*

4. Zurbarán, *Saint Peter's Vision of the Unclean Beasts*

5. Unknown Sevillian Painter, *Saint Peter Enthroned*

6. Zurbarán, *The Repentant Saint Peter*

7. Zurbarán, *Saint Peter's Vision of the Unclean Beasts* (detail)

8. Zurbarán, *The Repentant Saint Peter* (detail)

9. Workshop of Zurbarán, *Saint Peter Walking on the Sea* (detail)

10. Zurbarán, *Saint Peter Healing the Lame*

late Conception the Virgin ought to wear a crown.[23] Thus neither the crown nor the dress of the Virgin should be used as an argument for a date of 1625.

Finally, the *Saint Peter Healing the Lame* (Fig. 10) appears to furnish several reasons why the retable should be dated in 1633 at the earliest, and possibly as late as 1637. "In this picture Zurbarán achieved a clarity in the representation of space which would have been beyond his capacities in an earlier period."[24] Guinard himself had rightly called attention to Zurbarán's clumsy handling of space in the *Dominican Scenes* from San Pablo, of 1626. The *Saint Peter Healing the Lame*, on the other hand, is so excellent, so advanced in the distribution of the figures, the architectural background, the brushwork, and the pose of the Lame, that the author wonders whether it might not be as late as 1637. The architectural background seems to anticipate that of the *Jeronymite Miracles* of 1638-1639 at Guadalupe. The brushwork is similar to that of the eight small *Saints*, also of 1639, at the Altar of Saint Jerome at Guadalupe. The pose of the Lame is most closely related to that of *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (Seville Cathedral), dated 1638 by Guinard and by the author. On the whole, the brushwork of the five pictures painted by Zurbarán for the Retable of Saint Peter resembles most strikingly that of the *Mercedarians* and of the *Carthusian Scenes*, both of about 1633, and of the pictures painted at Madrid in 1634.

Spanish scholars will, no doubt, continue their efforts to find documents establishing the date of Zurbarán's work for the altar. These efforts should be concentrated on the years from 1633 to 1638, not on 1625, as was done until now. Such documents might also settle the question whether the pictures were done before or after Zurbarán's journey to Madrid in 1634 to paint the *Hercules* series and the *Defense of Cadiz against the English* for the royal palace, all now in the Prado.

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23. Francisco Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura*, Seville, 1649, book III, chap. XI.   24. Soria, *op.cit.*, p. 160.

CÉZANNE AND TRADITION

JAMES M. CARPENTER

THIS study of Cézanne will have two main objectives. The first is to summarize as clearly as possible what seems to be the aesthetic basis of a typical work of his mature style; the second is to explore in some detail the formal features of his art and to emphasize more than is usually done his position in the main stream of post-Renaissance European painting. The two aims are interrelated because the broader aesthetic interpretation will be found, it is hoped, to apply in general to certain earlier painting as well as to Cézanne, and thereby substantiate the idea of his traditionalism to be discussed later.

It is obvious immediately that Cézanne, unlike some of the younger Post-Impressionists, was not in revolt against the European tradition of plastic representation. He was intensely concerned with the expression of three-dimensional form and space. And yet it is equally evident that his point of view differed radically from that of the Impressionists whose ideal was to achieve the effect of the momentary optical image with its record of specific sensations of light and color, and who sought for an illusion of actuality with means that paralleled the visual aspect of nature. Cézanne also attempted to create an illusion of three-dimensional form and space, not with means parallel to nature's but within a more abstract language. Despite his greater abstraction he arrived at a kind of illusion in some ways more forceful than theirs. Let us try to explain this apparent paradox.

The aesthetic basis of most painting is, in fact, a paradox, so that we may make that our starting point. Representational painting may be defined as an art which employs colored areas and lines on a flat surface combined in such a way that, in the context of representation, they convey ideas about the three-dimensional world. The scope and effectiveness of the illusion of three dimensions varies greatly, but almost all painting makes some effort toward creating this illusion.[1] Even the simple Greek vase drawing, by its concentrated attention to the expression of structural form in figures through a subtle opposition of contour lines, is aiming at an illusion of solidity. Or even the analytical cubist painting depends strongly for the richness of its effect on the illusion of planes related to each other in a three-dimensional way. The fact that the kind of illusory space that either the Greek or Cubist painter creates is not the same full three-dimensional space of our experience does not matter. Both create a symbol of space which resembles more the symbolized space of relief sculpture than it does actual space.

In both these examples the sense of two-dimensions, the sense of surface, is of course very strong. The Greek vase drawing is a decorative design, which, with its two flat tones and unvaried line width, clings to the surface on which it is painted. It is highly patterned, furthermore, in relation to the area which it fills and thus to the shape of the vase as a whole, and the resulting aesthetic interest of organized shapes, directions, and sizes is entirely of a two-dimensional sort. The Cubist painting has its means for emphasizing its essential two-dimensional aspect. An avoidance of recognizable objects in their entirety is one, and the obvious textural quality of the surface achieved largely by a repetition of small brushstrokes is another. Bare canvas in parts and various textures of paint in others also attract attention to the objective features of the picture surface.

So in the Greek vase and the Cubist picture we have examples of the paradox of painting that is recurrent at all times, a recognition of which is of fundamental importance to the understanding of Cézanne. Rhys Carpenter has summed it up in the following paragraph, in which he also brings out the fact that while we see a painting in one way we are temporarily blind to the other aspect.

"In a painted scene there is intentionally the illusion of depth; we construct a space in which the objects occupy positions at various imagined distances from the eye. Insofar as we accept this space as actual, no pattern is possible; we only apprehend the pattern by reducing all the objects to that which they really are—flat surfaces of color lying in a single plane. One peculiar effect of pattern in such a painted scene, therefore, is the demand which it makes on us to apply a two-dimensional arrangement of colored areas to a three-dimensional spatial construction and (impossible as it may sound) recognize that this space without depth and the space with depth are somehow fused, somehow one and the same."[2]

With Cézanne this paradoxical two- and three-dimensionalism is of great importance because the illusion of depth and solidity is powerful, and, looked at from the second point of view, the sense of flatness is also very strong. The specific means he uses to achieve these effects we will study later. In fact we go far toward a general characterization of Cézanne's art in attributing its uniqueness to the strength of illusion on one hand and the strongly evident patterned flatness on the other. Part of the aesthetic response of the observer to a typical painting by him consists in the act of resolution of these forceful effects. A possible analogy from physics is the arc-light, a reaction created by two opposite poles. The greater the distance between the poles, the thicker the intervening layer of resisting atmosphere, the more intense is the resulting spark. In our case it is the strength of each effect that corresponds to the distance between the poles. So we may be justified in saying that the aesthetic reaction of the sensitive observer to a painting by Cézanne is due in part to the resolution of a polar tension.

But would not this resolution also be present in the response to the Greek vase or the Cubist painting? Yes; the difference is a matter of degree rather than kind. The degree of illusion in Cézanne is greater, bringing into play more complex spaces and solids, and the sense of flatness, while certainly not as simply stated as with the Greek artist, draws from a greater variety of elements which contribute to it. For closer parallels to the aesthetic elements that enter into Cézanne's painting we must look to a kind of painting which deals with stronger illusion, for example to Venetian and certain Baroque painting. Narrowing down the field somewhat we can find analogies to the mature Cézanne in the later and more abstract works of Titian and Rembrandt.

By way of introduction let us look at two drawings by Rembrandt, one fairly early and the other late. The earlier drawing (Fig. 1) gives us nearly the full plastic volume by means of the relatively large areas of shadow. Details of form, such as individual folds and distinction of textures, are present and the contour lines locate forms in a pretty specific way. In short the quantity of representational data is much greater here than in the later drawing (Fig. 2), which is more summary, marked by the extreme economy of which Rembrandt was capable in his later years. This one has few precisely located contours, few details of form, and relatively small shadow areas. Yet there is a tremendous illusion of depth and successive planes; indeed the forcefulness of the projection of the arm and hand holding the flower surpasses any sense of depth in the drawing of St. Augustine. The expression of space depends on relatively few overlapping planes—the arm in front of the body, the body in front of the further arm, the face in front of the hair and neck and the projection of nose from face—these do most of the work of representing depth. It is true that one representational element has become more important in the later drawing, namely the feeling of atmosphere, but on the whole a simplification has taken place, accompanied by greater omission and more forceful

2. *The Aesthetic Basis of Greek Art*, New York, Longmans Green & Co., 1921, p. 65.

accents. So much for the representation; the first drawing has more quantity of facts while the second has less in the way of quantity but more in the way of selection and emphasis in the spatial placing of the main forms.

Now, looking at the two drawings from the point of view of their two-dimensionality, both have a very evident paper surface marked up with pen lines so that there is no question of *deceptive* illusion of actuality. But the later one has a more evident two-dimensionality for the following reasons. There is, in the first place, more blank paper which has no three-dimensional implications until we relate it to the sparsely used pen strokes. Its textured surface is especially evident in the rubbed wash parts. Secondly, isolated lines in the earlier drawing often have separate meanings representationally or else they fall into a context with their neighbors so that we can isolate many small sections that are "readable." This is not possible in the later drawing except in the face and parts of the hand. In it we can look at rather large areas without being able to recreate the third dimension until, as enough of the whole becomes seen, the sense of the third dimension is suddenly present. Thirdly, the strokes themselves have a bloblike character which makes obvious the essential surface quality of the technical means.

To return to our arc-light analogy, the distance between poles is greater in the late drawing, and the resulting spark, or resolution, is probably stronger in the response of the observer familiar with Rembrandt's language than it is in his reaction to the earlier drawing. The St. Augustine, of course, has a broader connotative scope than the young man and it is also a more complete composition (the cutting of it was purposeful); but if we can put aside such differences, the added power of abstraction seems to give the later drawing an increased distinction.

While the late drawings of Rembrandt make the kind of summarized abstraction we are studying especially clear, his late paintings exhibit the same characteristics plus the increased richness in other formal and expressive elements. The late paintings are more broadly handled just as the drawing is, and therefore, like the drawing, there is more economy and selection with the emphasis again on the illusion of depth between the main planes in space.

Several other great artists show an increase in simplicity and abstraction very much like Rembrandt's. Titian's late work is notable for similar reasons. The foregrounds of his late paintings (the *Shepherd and Nymph* or the *Europa*) are rendered with a strong illusion of rather simplified masses and successive planes, though the amount of detail and resemblance to the visual surface of nature are far less than in his earlier work. And of course the late Titians have, at the same time, more of the essential flatness of surface or tapestry-like quality that was such a major contribution of the Venetian school.

Returning now to Cézanne we can certainly see some parallels in a typical painting like *Pot de fleurs* (Fig. 3) to the very thing we have discussed in connection with the late work of these other artists. In the presence of the original painting there is a most convincing illusion of depth taking place on an obvious two-dimensional surface that is impossible to think away for any length of time. Much the same kind of resolution of perceptions takes place in our reaction to this still-life as to the Rembrandt drawing, and an understanding of this similarity can contribute to an understanding of Cézanne's (or Rembrandt's) art.

It now remains to consider in more detail the specific means that Cézanne uses to create this illusion and to maintain at the same time the surface character of his paintings. We intend, as well, to investigate various other artistic means that go into his total pictorial expression. Constantly, in the discussion which follows there will be reference to parallels between methods used by Cézanne and by earlier artists, not with the idea of tracing influences but with the idea of understanding certain elements common to both Cézanne and earlier art.

In spite of Cézanne's own statements concerning his respect for tradition, writers discussing his

art have not given enough attention to the specific character of his traditionalism.[3] Cézanne's unique-ness has been their main theme, and as a result of this preoccupation they have had to resort to a kind of mysticism and an invention of new and often obscure terms to define his individuality. The fact is that many of the most fundamental aspects of his artistic language are deep-seated in the Venetian and post-Renaissance tradition of painting. Such remarks of his as "the Louvre is a book which teaches us how to read" and such aims as to "realize as the Venetians" indicate his debt to these sources. Uniqueness of artistic expression is, of course, characteristic of any great artist and, since the practice of art at a superior level involves the translation of experience through an individual human being, may be regarded as a function of artistic excellence. But there is also much of tradition in all excellent art and tradition forms the core of Cézanne's work.

If we may make another analogy, Venetian and post-Renaissance painting can be thought of as an organism possessing a framework of certain bones and sinews which are overlaid with alleviating flesh, concealing to a considerable extent the operation of these harsh but fundamental parts. This softening flesh takes the form of "naturalism" of one sort or another which Cézanne rejects, preferring to leave the bones baldly showing. If we had to account for the uniqueness of Cézanne's style in a phrase we would attribute it largely to the fact that, without altering to any great degree the traditional language of the art, he *lays bare the constructive skeleton of painting*. He makes use of certain methods of non-naturalistic expression that had in the past gone into the making of a picture, but he employs them more directly and leaves them more obviously showing.

Considering the time in which Cézanne was developing, perhaps his most remarkable achieve-ment was the way in which he broke away from the idea of representing the momentary aspect of nature. His fellow painters were all working toward the solution of problems of representation that reflected new knowledge of the transitory visual impressions of nature, especially movement and light. It is remarkable that even when Cézanne worked at the side of Pissarro he almost always kept away from the kind of specific light effect that results in naturalistic painting. He must have known what he was doing and doubtless deliberately avoided the specific record of nature. Whether it was a conscious or an unconscious one, his whole achievement rests on this fundamental decision.

Let us consider in turn several different problems, the solutions to which contribute so much to the style that Cézanne created. These problems are: (a) the means for expressing three-dimensional space and form, (b) the function of color, (c) the means for emphasizing and unifying the picture surface, (d) the methods of designing his paintings in two and three dimensions. From the earliest paintings to his culminating works in the eighties and nineties we can trace the gradual develop-ment and refinement of Cézanne's solutions to these problems. The early works are bold but reveal comparatively little of the real knowledge that makes up great painting. Gradually with an emphasis now on one and now on another aspect, that knowledge appears.

Form and Space

The basic problem posed by his rejection of effects of light and atmosphere had to do with the expression of space. The subtle reduction in color contrasts into the distance that gave a sense of depth to Impressionist pictures was a parallel to the effect of atmosphere on actual distance in nature. This kind of illusion did not satisfy Cézanne and about the mid-seventies he began to use success-fully other means for expressing space. Basically his means is that of separating planes in space by a gradual lightening or darkening of the further plane where the two overlap. The resulting value

3. In his book, *Cézanne's Composition* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1944), Erle Loran emphasizes Cézanne's relation to earlier painting, particularly regarding the treat-ment of space. He says, "Cézanne's space may be taken as the modern rebirth of the classical ideal of pictorial space, which is three-dimensionality conceived in relation to the two-dimensionality of the picture plane" (p. 32). It is the specific manner in which Cézanne is related to earlier painting, which Mr. Loran does not go into, that will concern us here. Inci-dentally Mr. Loran also emphasizes the illusion in Cézanne's painting, a point which is not, I believe, sufficiently stressed by many other writers.

contrast at the edge, together with the value gradation in the further plane, is what produced the illusion of recession from plane to plane. For greater emphasis there is often a gradual omission of detail in the further plane with the light-colored canvas frequently left bare in these areas of omitted detail.[4]

This is basically different from the atmospheric means of the Impressionists, and yet the illusion of receding planes or of the clear placing of objects in space is even greater than with the Impressionists. The difference is that we do not identify the space of Cézanne's pictures with actual space as readily as we do that of the Impressionists. Like the later Rembrandt drawing the abstraction from nature is more evident but the illusion has, if anything, been increased.

At this point (and possibly much sooner) the reader may object to the term illusion in the sense that we have been using it. Doesn't the camera or the photographic painting give us the ultimate in illusion? It is evident that it doesn't; and the chief reason is that neither can do anything about one fundamental physiological fact, namely the kinesthetic aspect of visual perception. When we perceive objects in space, and thereby space itself, in the physical world our eyes function in three different ways, only one of which is photographic. This is the stationary image of the far distance.[5] The second is the focusing operation of the eye which is kinesthetic and cannot enter into perception of a plane surface. The third is the binocular aspect of vision which again hardly comes into play in receiving sensations from a plane, or picture, surface. To make up for this loss painting has evolved various abstractions, one of the most important of which is that defined above as used by Cézanne. It employs the strongest means of the painter, contrasts in value, and manipulates them so that they concentrate at the edges of represented planes, giving us the sense of break at these edges which is as close as painting can come to the sensation of break produced by the shift of focus from one plane to another in nature. This does not mean that Cézanne tries to create an optical effect (although the omission of detail in further planes has some relation to the way we see), but that he is merely making bold use of a device of representation that can be found well back in the Middle Ages, or for that matter in Sung painting in China. But for the use of it that comes closest to Cézanne's, Venetian painting offers the best examples.

It has been stated that it is not the purpose of this article to point out specific influences on Cézanne, but rather to show how similar the basic language employed by Cézanne is to that of Venetian and post-Renaissance painting in general, and how the observer does not have to prepare himself for an entirely new kind of experience when shifting from the contemplation of an earlier painting to one by Cézanne. Regarding the immediate problem, that of the expression of space, it seems, however, more logical to suppose that Cézanne got the idea ready-made from pictures in the museums than that he invented it for himself.

The Venetians particularly could give it to him in a manner conforming to his ideals because the landscapes of Giorgione or Titian avoided the light effect of a specific moment in favor of a more generalized statement about landscape forms. If we compare a painting attributed to Titian[6] with one by Cézanne (Figs. 4 and 5), we find that both use the devices mentioned above with a resulting similarity in the emphasis on the objects and their arrangement in planes rather than on the transitory light effect. The three parallel planes of hill and buildings in the *Cupid* are realized in a manner very like the three planes of distance in the *House in Provence*—by the darkening and lightening of successive planes. Then, too, around the Cupid there is a darkening of the tone of the ground that sets forward his figure much in the same way that the darkening of the background

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4. cf. Arthur Pope, *The Language of Drawing and Painting*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1949, pp. 90-92, for a discussion of this. I am indebted throughout this article to Professor Pope's ideas.

5. The *Fernbild* described by Adolf Hildebrand in his book, *The Problem of Form* (New York, G. E. Stechert & Co., 1907), in which he presents in clear terms certain aspects

of the relation of vision to sculpture and painting.

6. Our reproduction shows the painting prior to the cleaning which revealed that it was a fragment of a Giorgione-Titian *Venus* close to the original form of the picture in Dresden (see Karl Oettinger, "Die wahre Giorgione-Venus," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F., XIII, 1944, pp. 113ff.).

behind the right roof edge or left side of the house in the Cézanne affirms its forward position in space. Both backgrounds are too far away to receive any cast shadow, of course, so in both the device is an abstract one.

Another comparison of the same type may be made between Cézanne's *Card Players* and a Rembrandt etching (Figs. 6 and 8). The darkening behind the head of the old man leaning forward at the right in the *Christ Preaching* is just as arbitrary and abstract as the darkening behind the face and arm of the seated card player at the left in the Cézanne. Comparisons of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely. Poussin, for example, had taken over this method of space expression from the Venetians and developed it in more ambitious landscapes, which can be compared in this regard with Cézanne's.

At times the use of a dark edge behind a nearer plane approaches the literal appearance of a cast shadow, but it is generally too gradual to be literally true to a specific light effect. A sharp-edged shadow would attract attention to its own edge, which is an accident of light rather than a direct function of the form. A comparison between Filippo Lippi and Cézanne (Figs. 7 and 9) shows a pretty close parallel in the method of separating the planes of nose and cheek with the specific effect of light avoided in both. There is always a battle between light effect and form in painting; and the course of European painting from Giotto to the Impressionists represents a gradual victory of the former over the latter. Cézanne turns his back on the final phase of this trend and, while looking forward to the future, he also looks back to the firm traditions of the past.

Another bold abstraction commonly used by the mature Cézanne is the outline, the obvious linear accent, which pulls forward the nearer represented objects. This kind of abstraction is not found in true Impressionist painting but again, less obviously employed, was common in the late Baroque phase of painting as, for example, by Tiepolo or Boucher. In the linear style of the early Renaissance it was of course a standard device. Cézanne's outlines, as those of fruit and leaves in *Pot de fleurs* (Fig. 3), seldom define edges with much precision. They are more likely to be broken and jagged in order to be in keeping with the broken touch used throughout the painting, but they still produce the illusion of certain planes and volumes being in front of others. Again there is little attempt to blend the line unobtrusively into the mass it defines—rather it is left evident as a boldly abstract but convincing device of representation.

Cézanne's use of perspective is consistent with his manner of rendering space by an emphasis on major planes. His perspective gives the impression of being pretty accurate and is with him as with the tradition to which he belongs a fundamental means of expressing the third dimension. At the same time it is treated with freedom, often deviating from the mathematically correct. Frequently this deviation is a matter of enlarging and raising the point of sight of the more distant objects in relation to the foreground in order to give them greater emphasis and extend the possibilities of surface pattern.[7] Thus he commonly exaggerates the vertical extension of his landscape views and of his still-lifes, too. The elliptical openings of jars and cups are often un-geometrically widened to an extent not found since the Middle Ages. Cézanne was critical of perspective because he was aware of its limitations for the expression of space. His plane by plane recession is effective even though the perspective is not accurate, just as it was with the Sung landscapists of China. It is not necessary to look for obscure reasons to explain the failure of a background line to coincide either side of a foreground object. If the forward plane is kept separate on either side, that is of greater importance. We can find examples of this lack of coincidence in earlier painting too—two that come to mind being from the *Rinaldo and Armida* series in the Chicago Art Institute by Tiepolo. The reason for the constant recurrence of this apparent carelessness with Cézanne is that he constructed his pictures in areas and directed his attention to making the spatial relations clear within these almost separate

7. Professor Pope, *op.cit.*, p. 91, has noted the discrepancy in eye level between foreground and background of Titian's *Europa* in the Gardner Museum, Boston.

areas. The observer then pieces them together to create the total picture space. That, of course, is the way we construct the unity of total space in actuality—by a piecing together of separate perceptions of the relative location of objects. Were it otherwise we would not walk around or shift the position of our heads when trying to understand the space of, say, a fairly complicated interior. Every turn of head, after all, produces a perspective image quite different from the preceding one. Cézanne's perspective is, like many other aspects of his art, the result of his sensitivity to the abstract means at his disposal and his ability to penetrate the complexities of perception in front of nature. In short there is a great deal of psychological truth in his non-mathematical use of perspective.

Apart from his use of color, which we will come to next, Cézanne used these methods to arrive at an expression of three dimensions:

Planar recession achieved mainly by emphasis on edges through lightening and darkening.
The addition of outlines particularly to establish edges which the first device left uncertain.
Perspective, sometimes accurate overall, often just in parts without a constant station point for the whole picture.

COLOR

Cézanne's color has been the subject of much discussion. The color problems that occupied him are, however, basically simple. One of these is part of the same big problem of expressing the third dimension. Again like the late Renaissance painters rather than his contemporaries, Cézanne changed the colors of different planes, quite arbitrarily, for the purpose of clarifying the space. Pissarro would observe all the subtle changes of green in masses of foliage, for example, while Cézanne (or Titian) would freely change to various shades of brown or orange to alternate with the green planes. Again it is the stronger distinction of colors rather than the slight distinction of subtle atmospheric changes that results in the more forceful plane distinction.

In other aspects of his color organization Cézanne continues certain venerable traditions of European painting. For one thing there is the combination of sequences or gradations of hue with value gradations in his modeling. Sometimes this use of color is referred to as "modeling with color." There is, however, no such thing as modeling without value gradations and Cézanne rarely tries to model form just with changes in hue. One of the few instances of such an attempt is the *Portrait of Mme. Cézanne* in the Boston Museum, in which the light side of the face is of warm flesh color and the shaded side is green, both at the same value. Except where the green darkens perceptibly, there is no feeling of solidity in the head—in other words, "modeling" with change of color alone does not work.

Ordinarily Cézanne merely combines hue with value gradations, which is a practice that can be traced back in an unbroken line to early Byzantine mosaics. The mosaicists of the tenth century modeled from cool (green) shadows up to warm lights with their small bits of colored stone. This method passed into panel painting in Italy with the typical green underpainting of the flesh which was evident in the shadows of the final painting. Draperies, too, were modeled with accompanying color changes, and although the use of green in the flesh was dropped by the time of Venetian ascendancy, the gradations in drapery from red to yellow, or blue or green to yellow, still were common in Venetian painting and continued down through the eighteenth century. There was a reason for this color variation, of course, and the reason for its use by Cézanne is very similar to that of earlier painters. The fourteenth century painter was aiming for a more or less equal interest (visual attraction) in all parts of his picture and this could be achieved by keeping his tonal contrasts nearly equal throughout. Grading the hues in a drapery was one way of providing interest that modeling within a single hue could not achieve. Also there was the interest of the orderly gradation itself, apart from the contrast of different hues. In general it was the additional richness of color resulting from these hue gradations that was their reason for being and for their retention by the Venetians, Rubens, Watteau, Tiepolo, or Fragonard. The foliage in a Fragonard landscape models

1. Rembrandt, *St. Augustine*, detail. Chatsworth

2. Rembrandt, *Young Man Holding a Flower*. Paris, Louvre

3. Cézanne, *Pot de fleurs*. London, Courtauld Institute

5. Cézanne, *House in Provence*. Indianapolis, Herron Art Institute

6. Cézanne, *Card Players*. New York,
Stephen Clark Collection

7. Cézanne, *Mme. Cézanne*. New York,
Mrs. H. H. Rogers

8. Rembrandt, *Christ Preaching*.
Etching, detail

9. Filippo Lippi, *Madonna with
Saints*, detail. Florence, Pitti
Gallery

10. Tintoretto, *Cruci-
fixion*, detail. Venice,
Scuola di San Rocco
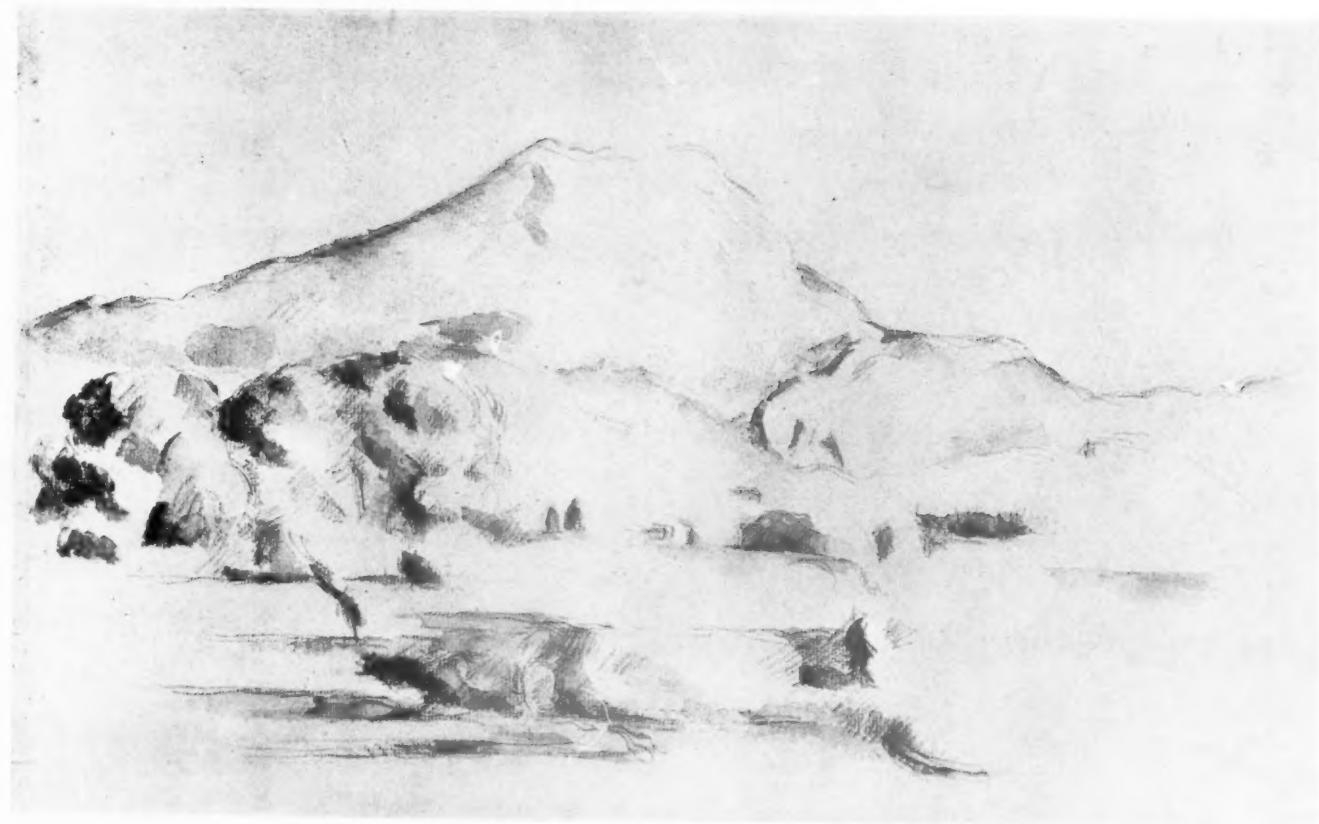
11. Cézanne, *Mont Ste. Victoire*. London, Courtauld Institute
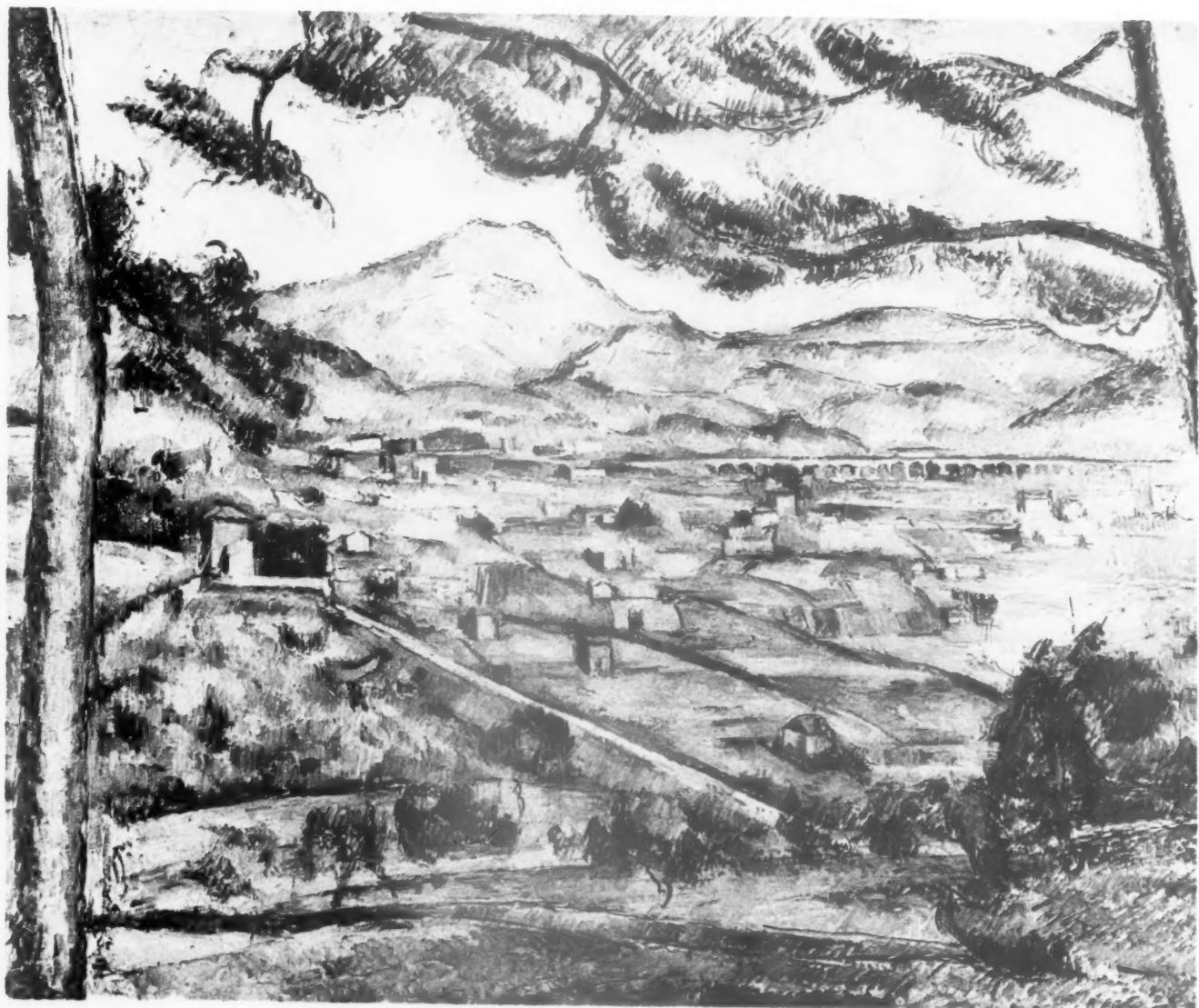
12. Cézanne, *Landscape with Mont Ste. Victoire*. Washington, Phillips Memorial Gallery

down to a bluish shadow for very much the same reason as Cézanne's does. It is hard to find this sort of thing in a nineteenth century landscape before Cézanne but it was common enough before the nineteenth century.

Cézanne, then, thinking in terms of the construction of his painting uses these variations to give interest to all parts of his picture, shadows as well as lights. The shadows in fact are generally given more play of color than the lights because the representational function of the lights as the reliefs or prominences of the form is sufficient to bring them forward while the shadows need the additional color interest to hold their own. The best instance of this is in the typical watercolor by Cézanne where the lights are left the paper tone and the shadows are painted with varicolored transparent washes. The parallel to this in, say, early Italian painting, is the frequent use of higher intensity colors in the shadows than in the lights. All these points are related to a fundamental method of keeping approximately equal interest or visual attraction in all parts of the picture.

Cézanne uses a play of color not only in the modeled areas but in the flat ones as well. A sky will have a play of color throughout achieved by separate strokes of varied color with fairly constant value. This is another way of arriving at the kind of interest Guardi achieved when he scumbled his blue sky thinly over his red underpainting, letting a play of the two colors result.

Just as in the expression of space, so in his use of color Cézanne employs traditional methods while making them a little more obvious. The basic principle in Cézanne's use of color is that of keeping a nearly equal interest in all parts of the picture—an all-over liveliness of color. But Cézanne makes these abstractions from nature more pronounced than even the Venetians and for that reason the untrained observer will feel an unnaturalness, a distortion, in his work which the Venetians, to a certain extent, hide. With Cézanne the methods of picture construction are left baldly showing.

As for the range of colors employed (i.e. hues and intensities), Cézanne is quite traditional. His basic palette is similar to that of Pissarro in the early 'seventies. Reds and oranges are partially neutralized, except for occasional small areas of higher intensity. Yellows are also quite neutral, the standard pigment being yellow ochre. In the landscapes particularly, yellow-greens and greens come out to quite high intensities, gradually reducing as they pass into the green-blue and blue regions. Blue-violets (largely ultramarine) are common but not in high intensities and red-violets (madder) are also reduced in strength. Violets (mixtures of ultramarine and madder) are practically eliminated, although they occur at high values with low intensities. If we compare this range of color with that found in Venetian or eighteenth century painting we find that they are essentially alike—blues and yellows cut down in intensity and violets omitted. Thus, Cézanne is quite traditional in this aspect of his color at a time when Degas, Renoir, Monet and others were pushing color far beyond this traditional range. Again, of course, his fundamental break with the naturalism of Impressionism determined his manner of using color.

A cliché concerning Cézanne's color that is as common as "modeling with color" and equally inaccurate has to do with "warm colors advancing and cool colors receding." One wonders if anyone has seriously looked at a painting by Cézanne trying to make the colors behave in this way, and if so, what the result could possibly be. In the first place the extent of these warm and cool tones is never defined. Does the term "warm color" apply to the yellow-greens or does it merely include yellow? And when do the violet tones become warm? The only basis for such a statement is the physiological phenomenon known as *chromatic aberration*. Due to the differences in wave-length a red is refracted less than a blue when passing through the lens of the eye so that it looks to be on a plane in front of the blue. An actual change in the focus of the eye is required to shift from one to the other.[8] But in order for this effect to be important the conditions have to be favorable, that is, the intensities should be strong and the colors juxtaposed and of nearly the same value. Under these circumstances

8. For a fuller explanation of this effect see R. M. Evans, *An Introduction to Color*, John Wiley & Sons, 1948, pp. 323, 324.

Cézanne or any other sensitive colorist makes use of this effect. But these are fairly rare conditions in Cézanne's painting and of much greater importance is his use of intense colors or contrasts in color to produce an effect of projection or recession. Reds and oranges are inherently capable of greater intensity and it is probably for this reason that chromatic aberration has become confused with the use of stronger and weaker intensities. Not only the intensities of colors but also the sizes of the colored areas and the degree of contrast in value or hue or intensity (or in any combination of these) play a part in the relative projection of these areas. This is all apart from the importance of color in the representational context, a matter we shall touch on later.

Another key to the analogy between Cézanne and earlier painting lies in his treatment of local color and particularly of the values of local colors. The period in which he was working was, of course, one in which local color was not of much significance in itself. In Impressionist painting it was just one element in the make-up of the final tone and was generally overlaid with modifying reflecting or reflected light as well as with atmosphere tone before it reached the eye. Cézanne's manipulation of local tone was very different, however. That kind of illusion was not his business. Like those of Titian or Rubens, his local tones varied (in value especially) to produce a contrast here or reduce one there according to the exigencies of the surface design or spatial clarity, regardless of its retinal correctness.

Most noticeably local color is lacking in his water colors like that of Mont Ste. Victoire (Fig. 11), in which each field of color comes up to the white paper in the light as in the form drawings of the Renaissance which disregarded local tone completely. There is a suggestion of different colors in the washes but, except for one or two spots, no solid local color.

In the more finished oil paintings there is still a freedom from solid local tones but for more complex reasons. One reason is that of lessening contrasts at the border of a composition in order to concentrate attention toward the central region. The *Portrait of Mme. Cézanne* (Fig. 7) illustrates this with the lightening of the red of her dress at the bottom while reaching the full strength of the dark red local color only in the region of the shoulders and collar. The same thing happens in the blue dress of Mme. Cézanne in the portrait in the Stephen Clark collection. This device has its parallels in Baroque painting, though generally reversed so that the local tones merge into shadow at the borders of the composition. In the lighter-toned oil sketches of Rubens the parallel is almost exact, since the local colors at the borders are frequently lighter in value as well as being less distinct in hue and intensity.

For purposes of a pictorial interplay of light and dark or to keep his all-important spatial clarity Cézanne frequently sacrifices the values of local tones. So in the *Pot de fleurs* (Fig. 3) the green leaves are varied considerably in value quite independently of the light they receive. It is the tone of the background that governs these changes in value in a manner quite similar to the detail from Tintoretto's *Crucifixion* (Fig. 10) where local tones as well as light effect are freely manipulated to produce the desired light and dark alternation.

In summary, the color problems that particularly concerned Cézanne were the following:

An approximation to overall equality of visual attraction by means of a considerable "play" of color particularly in the shadows.

A use of gradations of color accompanying the modeling and adding to the overall richness.

A limitation in range of color.

The use of contrasts of color or of relative intensities to aid in the spatial placing of objects.

A free manipulation of the values of the local colors.

The Picture Surface

In the first part of this article it was maintained that a strong characteristic of one's response to Cézanne's art consists in the resolution of illusion and flatness. So far we have reviewed some

of the means he employed to convey a sense of form and space. Now we shall concentrate on the other pole, the picture surface.

Emphasis on a two-dimensional surface is achieved by drawing the observer's attention to the unity and continuity of that surface. One of the most important means employed by Cézanne to this end may be termed textural unity. The texture of directly applied paint is featured and kept uniform throughout while the strokes themselves produce a feeling of textural uniformity by the regularity of their application. As in other aspects of his art his development in the handling of paint proceeds from hesitation and fumbling to assurance. Again what he achieved might have come by independent work entirely, but it is likely that he looked closely at paintings of the past to see why the paint seemed to be so successfully handled. What he found was regularity of touch, whether the firm strokes of a Chardin or the flowing touches of a Velásquez. Perhaps there was no need to search that far because evenness of touch was something of which all the Impressionists had been particularly conscious. But Cézanne carries this means of unifying a picture farther than anyone but Seurat. His mature paintings are composed entirely of touches of uniform width and generally uniform length. Often he carries it so far as to give uniform touches the same diagonal direction throughout a whole painting. Thus the texture of the represented object is completely sacrificed to the texture of the paint on canvas surface, and the observer is made aware above all of the two-dimensional surface of the painting. The areas of bare canvas that he frequently leaves serve also to affirm the two-dimensional existence of the picture surface. Again we are reminded of the tapestry-like flatness of a late painting by Titian, for example, but the modern artist makes the flatness more obvious— sacrifices the convincing quality of the representation even more to the idea of preserving the identity of the picture surface.

Color, too, plays a part in drawing attention to the picture surface. As we mentioned when discussing Cézanne's color, there is frequently an evenness of interest over all the surface achieved largely by maintaining a play of color in the shadow areas and in flat areas like the sky of a landscape. This method gives a special animation to these parts which enables them to hold their own with the lights and reliefs of the form. This is difficult to illustrate in a photograph, but the water colors (Fig. 11), even without their color, indicate clearly the concentration on shadows and recessions by means of washes of color. The lights demand attention because of their representational existence as projecting solids and so can be left as white paper.

This brings us to a point which will cast a new light on some conclusions regarding Cézanne's color made in the previous section. There we maintained that most of the deviations from the color of nature were directed toward clarification of the space. Now as we look at some parts of his paintings we notice that patches of quite intense color appear in the far distance, which, instead of keeping that distance in its plane, seem to pull it out to the foremost plane of the picture. For example, in one of the views of *Mont Ste. Victoire* (Fig. 12) there are touches throughout the valley and mountain of quite intense green and orange tones. This has the effect of forcing forward not only these spots but also the planes which they occupy. The observer almost has to start over again at the foreground to retrace plane by plane the recession into the distance.

Or in a still-life like Figure 3, after a forceful marking off, plane by plane, of the spatial relationships of leaves, flower pot, and background, suddenly at the top edge of the right hand leaf there is almost a blending of leaf into background and, at the extreme right, table into wall. Like the previous instance this gives the observer the feeling of losing hold of the three-dimensionality just as he has grasped it. Both these effects can be even more clearly seen in a water color (Fig. 11) in which the white paper in some places is the relief of a form, and in others the area of omitted detail which falls behind a nearer plane. As we get into the picture more we see that these two are allowed to blend together, and since their representational meanings are incapable of simultaneous existence,

both must finally be read as just plain white paper and we are thus forced to return to the picture surface.

In such examples as these the resolution of two- and three-dimensionality assumes its maximum importance in Cézanne's work. And here we are hard put to find parallels in earlier painting. To be sure, in the Rembrandt drawing of the boy holding a flower (Fig. 2) the conditions are quite similar, but no one in painting before Cézanne had carried this paradoxical two- and three-dimensionalism quite so far. Here he is carrying his researches into virgin territory and it is interesting that the "passage" or ambiguous transition of planes, which is one of the most intriguing elements in twentieth century abstract art, is a development of just this aspect of Cézanne's work.

To summarize this section we have, then, the following methods of accenting the picture surface:

Consistency of texture and scale of handling of the paint, often combined with uniform direction in the touches.

Emphasis on paint texture to the exclusion of represented textures.

The use of color to aid in maintaining flatness by introducing variation especially in the shadows and unmodeled areas.

The deliberate sacrifice of clarity of representation in details and especially in the distance.

DESIGN

In approaching the study of design in painting the most important point to have in mind is the vast scope of possibilities resulting from the great number of variables which can be organized in perception. Thus, since the term design refers to any kind of organization, it is obvious that we have been touching on the subject throughout, especially in the treatment of Cézanne's color and in the study of the means he employed to relate the third dimension to the picture surface. Now we shall deal briefly with a narrower interpretation of the term design in its reference to compositional arrangement on the surface and in space.

Regarding this aspect of Cézanne, as in the others here considered, we make no attempt to be exhaustive. We are merely going to mention a few characteristics of Cézanne's two- and three-dimensional arrangement of pictorial elements. There is little that is radically new about his composition in comparison with the tradition to which we have been referring. Like this tradition and unlike high Impressionism, he was concerned with a high degree of relatedness of parts in two- and three-dimensional organization. Impressionism, seeking the casual view of nature, avoided anything but the simplest two- or three-dimensional organization while Cézanne, willing as he was to leave the constructive skeleton of his painting showing, attempted to get the most out of the unifying effect of patterned surface and depth arrangements while still avoiding monotony and the over-obvious.

In early works he experimented with Impressionist casualness and in some later ones with a high degree of patterning, particularly in his figure compositions of the small allegorical or bathers type. His most satisfactory compositions fall somewhere between these two. The figure type has generally quite a rigid scheme, sometimes of a pictorially light and dark Baroque sort, sometimes based on a fairly rigidly symmetrical grouping of figures typical of the latest examples. These, despite the interest gained from the spontaneous application of paint and richness of color, seem a little too obvious in their design compared with the characteristic still-life, landscape, or portrait. The reason for this seems to be that Cézanne always depends heavily on the simplification of masses and surface shapes into near-geometric form, and when this is combined with very evident patterning of the whole surface there is a falling off of interest.

This matter of geometric simplification of volumes and surface shapes is, of course, a basic means of organization in Cézanne's paintings. His statement about the reduction to the sphere, cylinder,

and cone suggests the nature of the selective operation involved, though in its baldness it seems to apply more to the dull followers of Cézanne than to the varied and sensitive simplification of the master himself.

In this field we have about the clearest instance of Cézanne's willingness to leave the bones of the formal construction of his paintings clearly showing. Repeated shapes which tie together objects that in nature are too diverse to produce a felt unity (Fig. 12); gradations of directions and intervals that are regularized far beyond the accidental vagaries of nature; omission of elements that would detract from the effectiveness of these—such are the means that result in a high degree of compositional organization. Here he goes far beyond most of the museum art that he was acquainted with. Poussin provided him with ideas along this line, and we can see from his drawings after Greek and later sculpture and Rubens that the thing that he drew out from these models was the geometric character of the forms, which, though inherent in them, was carried a big step further in his drawings.

Because of the unification achieved by this geometrizing aspect of Cézanne's design and because also of the overall constancy of scale in the individual strokes, a high degree of organization in the large relationships of surface pattern is not only unnecessary but probably, as we have just intimated, undesirable. In the past, artists akin to Cézanne in temperament—that is, those who revealed a classical interest in design like Piero della Francesca, Raphael, or Poussin—frequently turned to nearly symmetrical compositional forms. Cézanne did this only in a few of the figure groups. He found, as other masters had done before him, that asymmetrical compositions allowed the numerous relationships among the parts to do their work of integration with less threat of dullness to the whole.

This is not the place to catalogue the various types of compositional forms employed by Cézanne. Mention of a few, however, may be useful. A symmetrical grouping of parts which are placed off-center in relation to the enframement occurs quite often. The card-player series represents a variety of experiments of this general type and most of the paintings of bathers which avoid symmetry employ this compromise with it. The *Card Players* in the Stephen Clark collection (Fig. 6) is typical of these with its off-center symmetrical grouping. Cézanne might have noticed a very similar grouping in such a painting as the *Entombment* by Titian in the Louvre or he might have evolved it himself. At any rate the idea is common in Venetian and subsequent painting, especially that of Poussin.

Another type of general arrangement frequently used by Cézanne is that of grouping or massing the objects in a still life, for instance, in the center of the enframement. Such compact groupings, almost vignette-like, have since been favored by Picasso and Braque also. They seem to follow Cézanne's lead, especially in the period of synthetic Cubism, relieving these compact central masses by having important areas break from the main mass and run out of the frame. This method of surface composition has also a long tradition, especially in still-life painting, as we can see by running through a characteristic group of Chardins.

One other method of Cézanne's surface organization depends on an opposition of diagonals, sometimes adhering to two main opposing directions, more commonly made up of a network of varied directions which result in an equilibrium. This method of designing was fundamental in the work of painters like Tintoretto or El Greco.

Three-dimensional arrangements in Cézanne's painting tend consistently to emphasize planes which are parallel to the picture plane, with these in turn connected by simple diagonals. This is of course a classic method of spatial design again very common in the paintings of the Venetians and Poussin. Cézanne favored it, as did these predecessors, because the steps between parallel planes could be made clear-cut while their relation to the plane of the picture was always assured by their parallelism. The simplification and clarity of the planar division was essential to achieve the illusion

he sought since atmospheric effects were largely discarded. The satisfaction we get from perceiving the arrangement in space in a Cézanne is the same as that from any other painter who was as sensitive to this aspect of design—Rembrandt, for example—and depends on the statement of a main theme (generally parallel planes) with subordinate themes (diagonal and curved recessions), and a placing of objects so that attention is not directed too violently out of the picture space.[9] There is nothing new in this aspect of Cézanne. His uniqueness of treatment of space is due to the factors mentioned earlier—the strength of the illusion of depth (which is aided by clarity of arrangement) combined with the forceful assertion of the picture plane.

Of great significance in the construction of his orderly picture space is the selective approach which is revealed to us in a simplified form in Cézanne's water colors. In one like the *Mont Ste. Victoire* (Fig. 11) there are a mere handful of strong accents which immediately attract the eye and reveal instantly the main planes of space. Here the minor accents are so few and so subordinate that there is little to compete with the most important space-defining touches of wash—in the more complete paintings there is the same kind of selection and subordination but, being more complex, it is not so immediately obvious.

The water colors occupy a place in relation to Cézanne's work that is comparable to the oil sketches of Rubens or the pen and wash drawings of Rembrandt in relation to the more complete paintings of these artists. In all three instances an acquaintance with the sketchier work provides a very helpful key to the understanding of the basic artistic problems which occupied each artist. And despite the many obvious differences between them there are many equally important but less obvious similarities.

The important point that should emerge from this brief analysis is that in order to understand Cézanne one does not have to learn a new language; rather that a study of his specific artistic means amounts to a kind of summary of the various abstractions employed in earlier painting. One's understanding of both the modern master and earlier masters of his artistic level is deepened by perceiving the similarities in their solutions to the problems of painting. Toward the end of his life Cézanne wrote to Émile Bernard approving of his admiration for the Venetians and, regarding the younger man's search for methods of expression, said, "et le jour oò vous les tiendrez, soyez convaincu que vous retrouverez sans effort et sur nature, les moyens employés par les quatre ou cinq grands de Venise."[10]

COLBY COLLEGE

9. Mr. Loran, *op.cit.*, makes much of the analysis of space in terms of "movement in and out of depth," and spatial "tensions." With so much of value in his book it seems to me unfortunate that these two questionable ideas are given so much importance. I cannot agree with his theory of "movement into depth and return to the picture plane," especially in the impression the reader gets from the large arrows in his diagrams. Such an interpretation seems to be based on a theory of "paths of vision" which I cannot accept simply because my eyes can circumnavigate the picture space in the reverse direction just as readily as in the one indicated. Furthermore, there are so many other ways in and out of the picture space that singling one out is an oversimplification. In all painting with a well-organized three-dimensional plan there is a main arrangement to which other arrangements are subordinated. In Cézanne's work the chief spatial design is almost always produced by parallel planes, though in a few pictures a diagonal recession predominates. To describe Cézanne's space organization in terms of a large circular movement when the parallelism is so evident seems to me to be a distortion of the facts.

It is apparently a desire for a highly dynamic interpretation of design that accounts also for Mr. Loran's fondness for "spatial tensions." I am unable to attribute to Cézanne's volumes as much potential animation as he does; his interpretations are too strongly empathic for me to concur with. I do feel what might be described as "tension" between a plane in depth and the picture plane for the reason mentioned frequently here—that such a plane seems to exist in both places at once.

10. Emile Bernard, *Souvenirs sur Paul Cézanne et lettres*, Paris, n.d., p. 79.

NOTES

JOHN NEAGLE, PORTRAIT PAINTER, AND PAT LYON, BLACKSMITH*

RANSOM R. PATRICK

I

The most often reproduced and best known painting by John Neagle is his portrait of "Pat Lyon, the Blacksmith." The original portrait, signed "J. Neagle, 1826-7" and owned by the Boston Athenaeum, is now on loan to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 1). A slightly larger replica of the same subject, painted and signed by Neagle in 1829, hangs in the Rotunda of The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia (Fig. 2). Not only was *Pat Lyon, the Blacksmith* one of the most important paintings in the life and career of John Neagle himself, but it is one of the most significant works in the whole history of American genre portrait painting. As the full story of the painting has never been completely presented in print, the author proposes to recount it here, and to analyze the painting in the light of the story. In the process various iconographic errors that have arisen in connection with the painting can be corrected.

John Neagle, the Philadelphia portrait painter,[1] was born on November 4, 1796 at Marlborough House in Boston while his parents were there on a temporary visit. He died in Philadelphia, where he had resided almost all of his life, on September 17, 1865. Neagle's father was a native of Doneraile, County Cork, Ireland; his mother, whose maiden name was Taylor, was the daughter of a New Jersey yeoman and was born near Bordentown, New Jersey.[2] The father died when John was four years old, so that the lad was brought up by his mother and her second husband "who was no friend to John or to the arts, and he passed through the evils of a stepfather's ill will."[3]

John Neagle early showed a desire to draw and one of his school fellows, Petticolas, who later became a well-known artist in Richmond, directed his early efforts. Neagle went to a common English school for his general education, and was sent to drawing school under Signor Pietro Ancora for one quarter, after which his stepfather placed him in his grocery store. Neagle later chose to become apprenticed to Mr. Thomas Wilson, a coach and ornamental painter, and when Wilson began to take lessons from Bass Otis, portrait painter, it fell to young Neagle's lot to carry his master's palette and brushes between the coach shop and Otis' painting room. This apparently confirmed in Neagle the desire to become a portrait painter, and "having access to materials, he applied himself day and night to drawing and painting . . . in his own way . . . and when not employed by his master."[4]

Eventually Wilson arranged that his apprentice also should take some lessons with Bass Otis. These lessons lasted about two months and were "all the instruction [Neagle] ever had as a pupil to a professional painter."[5] However, he was encouraged to develop his talents by the ablest painters of his day in Philadelphia—notably Charles Willson Peale, Otis, and Thomas Sully—as well as by his master Wilson. Sully was particularly kind to Neagle, inviting him to come to his painting room whenever the younger man desired. Neagle wrote later that he often felt the desire, but did not actually pay Sully such a visit until 1822. Four years later, however, Neagle had become sufficiently intimate with the Sully family to marry Sully's stepdaughter, Mary Chester Sully.

By 1818 Neagle had set up his easel at his mother's house, at Almond and Front Streets in Philadelphia, in the hope of beginning the regular practice of his profession. Apparently business was not too flourishing for he left for Lexington, Kentucky, thinking to establish himself there. His first question upon arrival was, "Is there any portrait painter in Lexington?" To his surprise there were two, one of whom was Matthew Jouett; and since Neagle found Jouett to be a "good and well-instructed artist," he felt that there was little chance of ever becoming a leading painter in Lexington. After some difficulty in financing a trip down the river he started for New Orleans. Still faced with financial problems, he was lucky enough to meet a former acquaintance from the East, Mr. Edward Hall, of the firm of Hawkins and Hall, of Philadelphia. Hall sat to Neagle for his portrait and the price of the portrait, combined with that of a head of Washington which Neagle sold to Hall (a head Neagle had brought with him from Philadelphia), gave the artist enough money to finance the sea voyage back to the Quaker City.[6] There his business now steadily improved.

On July 12, 1825, Neagle and his friend, James Barton Longacre, the Philadelphia engraver, set out for Boston to visit Gilbert Stuart, and it was on this visit that Neagle painted the Athenaeum portrait of the famous American artist. He later wrote Dunlap that Stuart "treated him like a child." Stuart advised the young artist that, "you may elevate your mind as much as you can; but, *while you have nature before you as a model paint what you see*, and look with your own eyes."[7]

* An article submitted for the issue in honor of Charles Rufus Morey as listed in THE ART BULLETIN, December 1950.

1. The author is compiling the evidence for a book on "The Life and Works of John Neagle, The Philadelphia Portrait Painter" to be published at a later date.

2. Mantle Fielding, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Portraits by John Neagle*, Philadelphia, The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1925, p. 5.

3. William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, Boston, edition of 1918, III, p. 165.

4. Dunlap, *op.cit.*, p. 166.

5. Dunlap, *op.cit.*, p. 166.   6. Fielding, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

7. Dunlap, *op.cit.*, I, p. 254 (my italics).

Such, in brief, was the experience and the advice that prepared Neagle for carrying out the commission he was about to be given, namely, to paint a full-length portrait of Pat Lyon, the blacksmith.

II

The painting was actually commissioned on November 4, 1825.[8] Neagle was disappointed that Lyon did not show up for the first sitting on November tenth, but he did appear on the eleventh. In commissioning the full-length, life-size portrait of himself Lyon said, "I wish you, sir, to paint me at full length, the size of life, representing me at the smithery, with my bellows-blower, hammers, and all the et-ceteras of the shop around me."[9] Neagle was fearful that Lyon did not know the expense of such a large picture and even cautioned him that the canvas itself was worth several dollars. Mr. Lyon replied, "D___ the expense!" Lyon gave him the money and added, "I wish you to understand clearly, Mr. Neagle, that I do not desire to be represented in the picture as a gentleman—to which character I have no pretension. I want you to paint me at work at my anvil, with my sleeves rolled up and a leather apron on."[10] Almost one year later Neagle noted in his so-called "Blotter Book," on November 10, 1826, "Finished Pat Lyon's face." The painting must have been completed in December for in the same "book" he wrote, "December 6, 1826: Mr. Patrick Lyon agreed to allow his portrait to be exhibited in the approaching exhibition in the Penna. Academy."[11]

The question now arises, why did it take Neagle a year, or more, to finish this one painting? Various attempts have been made to account for the fact that there is no reference to the portrait in Neagle's "Blotter Book" from the time of the entry of December 6 until the following spring, when the next entry appears. One writer has somewhat naïvely suggested that it was due to the inclement weather and that Neagle could not work on the painting in the open smithy,[12] but it is very unlikely that an artist would take a 93 x 68 inch canvas directly to the open smithy to work upon it. A much more reasonable assumption is that this lapse in time resulted from the importance that Pat Lyon placed upon this painting and from the fact that he had rising doubts as to whether or not young Neagle, who was thirty at the time, could finish it to his satisfaction.

This is substantiated by a statement made by Neagle's personal friend, the artist and engraver John Sartain, who wrote, "So much time elapsed before a sitting could be arranged that the artist suspected that Lyon was purposely evading it. He told Lyon what he thought, and asked that if he doubted his ability to

produce a creditable picture, he would say so frankly. 'Well, then,' said Lyon, 'frankly, that is it. You know Mr. Neagle, you are still a very young man, and it has been shown me that it takes a long experience to produce such a picture as is proposed, and you might not succeed.' Neagle contrived to learn from him at length that it was Bass Otis, whose pupil he had been, who had suggested the doubt. Neagle was stunned to exasperation at this check, and appealed earnestly to Lyon to trust him and not to withdraw from him this opportunity for distinguishing himself. Lyon was impressed favourably with the confidence and enthusiasm of the [young] artist, and told him to go on [with the work]. The result was a success beyond what might have been expected."[13]

In spite of this decision on Lyon's part, Neagle was still unable to get at the completion of the commission. In a recent article, entitled "John Neagle's 'Diary,'" Marguerite Lynch states: "The second interruption of the work from May 1826 to October can be explained by the urgency of other orders, including the lucrative commission to do portraits for the Acting Theatre of America which necessitated a three months stay in New York."[14] Indeed according to Lynch, Neagle painted at least seventy portraits between the ordering and the completion of the Pat Lyon commission, at a time when the artist was also engaged in setting up housekeeping, for he had married Mary Chester Sully on the evening of May 28, 1826. The above is further borne out by the fact that on October 7, 1826, Neagle wrote to James Barton Longacre of Philadelphia and told him that he had *laid aside* Patrick Lyon's and many other good jobs to oblige Messrs. Lopez and Wemyss, from whom he received the Acting Theatre assignment. He complained to Longacre that people did not understand his needs and that Lopez not only did not pay him for the work but did not acknowledge receipt of the bill and then goes on to say, "I am closely engaged *Night & Day*—and doing my utmost on Pat Lyon's picture."[15] This letter seems to indicate that among other things, the commission was not immediately lucrative. It would further appear from all this that John Neagle did not make his reputation solely through the Patrick Lyon portrait as some historians have implied. There is, however, no doubt that the painting greatly enhanced Neagle's reputation both in and out of Philadelphia.

Of the two interruptions in the course of the work, the first offers especially important evidence that this particular painting had vital significance to Pat Lyon himself. And it is the story of Pat Lyon's life that serves to explain both why the painting was so important to him, and, why he insisted that he be painted as "a blacksmith" and not as "a gentleman."

8. Marguerite Lynch, "John Neagle's 'Diary,'" *Art in America*, XXXVII, April 1949, p. 83.

9. Thomas Fitzgerald, "John Neagle the Artist," *Lippincott*, I, May 1, 1868, p. 480.

10. Fitzgerald, *op.cit.*, p. 480; also see Dunlap, *op.cit.*, III, p. 168 for same evidence.

11. Lynch, *op.cit.*, p. 84.   12. Lynch, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

13. John Sartain, *Reminiscences of a Very Old Man, John Sartain 1808-1847*, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1899, pp. 191-193.

14. Lynch, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

15. Dr. John H. Powell very kindly supplied this reference.

1. John Neagle, *Pat Lyon at the Forge*, oil on canvas, 93 x 68 inches.
Boston Museum of Fine Arts, lent by the Boston Athenaeum

2. John Neagle, *Pat Lyon at the Forge*, oil on canvas, 94½ x 68½ inches.
Philadelphia, The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

3. John Neagle, *Pat Lyon at the Forge*, wash drawing on paper,
7¾ x 6½ inches. Boston, The Boston Athenaeum

4. John Neagle, *Pat Lyon at the Forge*, oil on canvas, 9¾ x 8 inches.
Philadelphia, The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

5. John Neagle, *Pat Lyon at the Forge*, oil on canvas, 18½ x 13½ inches. Philadelphia, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

6. John Neagle, *Patrick Lyon*, oil on canvas, 21 x 16½ inches. Philadelphia, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
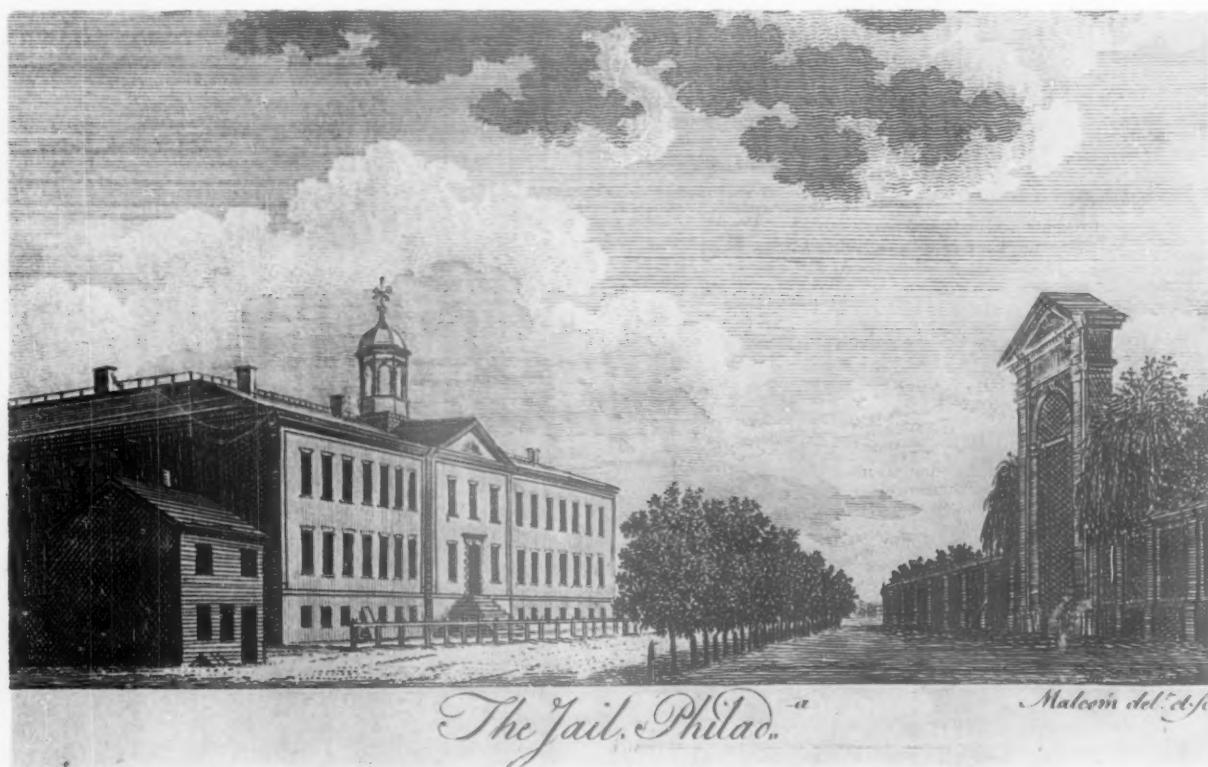
7. Malcolm, *The Jail, Philad.*, engraving. Philadelphia, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

III

Pat Lyon, the sandy-haired, ruddy-faced, blue-eyed blacksmith, was by all measure of the times a wealthy man. "A prosperous Philadelphia citizen, large, sturdy, full fashioned, with a strong mind and a taste for strong beer" is the description of Lyon given by Dr. John H. Powell, of Philadelphia, who is writing a full-scale biography of Patrick Lyon and has generously allowed the present author the use of his manuscript.[16]

In 1826, at the age of fifty-seven, Pat Lyon had retired from his forge with an ample fortune. The people of Philadelphia knew Lyon as a designer and a hydraulic engineer who had created America's most original fire engines, two of which he built as early as 1803 and a number as late as 1824, when he built the "Reliance." The "Old Diligent" was made by him and used until the introduction of steam fire engines.[17] "The Pat Lyon John Neagle saw in 1826 was a man of property, a man by modest standards wealthy. He owned his dwelling house in Walnut Street as well as the tavern next door where he spent many of the lonely hours of his widowerhood. He owned the Old Southwark Theatre, profitably leased to a number of tenants. He owned a building on Dock Street, rented out, and a number of buildings in Library Place below Walnut where his old blacksmithy used to be. He had three thousand dollars in United States loan certificates, owned good mortgages, had a fat bank account, some canal stocks, and money out at interest. He was a Mason, and a member of the St. Andrews Society."[18] He might well have called himself a gentleman.

But Pat Lyon bitterly disliked the word "gentleman." All in the city knew his story; it was even used in children's books as a moral tale: the story of Patrick Lyon the Innocent Blacksmith had become almost a legend. The portrait (Fig. 1) was Pat's way of dissociating himself with those same gentlemen who had wronged him so long ago and showing his preference for the honor and class of his craft. The story has been long known and here is what happened.

The Bank of Pennsylvania had moved from the Masonic Lodge building in Lodge Alley to Carpenters' Hall and on September 1, 1798, was robbed of $162,-821.61. The officers of the bank immediately suspected Pat Lyon, because of his skill as a locksmith and the following circumstantial evidence: sixteen months before the robbery he had been employed to make two doors for the bank's vaults; at the time he cautioned the officers that the inner doors were insufficient and recommended something stronger. His advice was ignored and in August of 1798 he was again employed to repair the locks upon the inner doors.[19]

The yellow fever was raging at the time and all who could do so left town. When Pat finished his work he left for Lewes, Delaware, with young Jamie, his apprentice. Enroute the apprentice fell ill with yellow fever and on Saturday, September 1, Pat had engaged a room for him and walked into Lewes for medicine and advice—the very evening the bank was being robbed in Philadelphia. The boy died on September 4, and Lyon hired a neighbor to make a coffin, laid Jamie in it with his own hands and buried him in Squire Hazard's burying ground.[20]

Two weeks later Lyon heard of the robbery and that he was suspected of it. Without delay he left Lewes for Wilmington and walked thirty-six miles to Philadelphia, because no vehicles were running on account of the embargo by the yellow fever. Pat went straight to the house of John Clement Stocker, a director of the bank, and said he would meet the bank's officers there the next day. On the following morning he met the president, Mr. Fox, the cashier, Mr. Smith, and Robert Wharton, the mayor, at Mr. Stocker's house. He gave them, in a clear, straightforward manner, an account of every hour, and showed that on the night of the robbery he was attending the sick boy.

In spite of his testimony and honest manner he was imprisoned in the Walnut Street Jail, his bail $150,000 —an amount too large for him to raise. Two months later one of the real criminals had been captured and confessed but they still held Lyon as an accomplice. The real culprits turned out to be Thomas Cunningham, guard and porter of the bank, and a carpenter named Isaac Davis. Cunningham had died of yellow fever within a week after the robbery. Davis had confessed the robbery, had returned over $159,000 of the money, and had been permitted to leave town. However, it was not until December 15 that Pat was released on $2,000 bail.

The Grand Jury refused to indict Lyon, but he had to live off the charity of his friends and in poverty and disgrace for seven years. Alexander J. Dallas became his counsel and did something brand-new—he brought suit for malicious prosecution[21]—against Fox, Stocker, and Haines the Constable. The trial was long and bitter, finally ending in a verdict in favor of Lyon and awarding him damages.

Of the trial, Powell writes: "But always he [Patrick Lyon] remembered that the battle he had fought had been a needless one, a battle forced on him by the distrust of one class of men for another, a battle hard to win because those who controlled the agencies of freedom were unwilling that its benefits should spread to all men equally, regardless of their status."

It is plain, indeed, why the portrait was so important in the life of Patrick Lyon, and why he might well wonder whether or not the young painter Neagle could carry it off.

IV

The story of Pat Lyon's sad experience in the Walnut Street Prison lends credence to the statement that

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16. John H. Powell, "The Case of the Innocent Blacksmith." I shall refer to this manuscript as Powell MS.

17. John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*, Philadelphia, Edwin S. Stuart, 1897,

III, p. 409. A summary of Lyon's imprisonment is to be found here as well as in Dunlap, *op.cit.*

18. Powell MS.

19. Watson, *op.cit.*, III, p. 282.

20. Powell MS.

21. Powell MS.

the cupola in the upper left hand corner of the portrait is actually the prison and intended as such by both the artist and Lyon. Yet one writer, writing almost an even hundred years after the painting was finished, states, "The building with the cupola, shown in the background of the picture, has been supposed to be a representation of the Walnut Street gaol where Lyon was imprisoned. It is, however, more likely to have been intended for Carpenters' Hall where the Bank of Pennsylvania was installed at the time of the robbery. The idea of introducing this detail into the design was probably entirely due to Neagle."[22]

Many others have likewise assumed that the building is Carpenters' Hall. Yet Dunlap had plainly said that it represented the Walnut Street Prison; and it can be proved that this is the case. By the time the painting had reached the comprehensive sketch stage (Fig. 5) the cupola and building were very close to the final form they were to be in the finished painting. Note in both the octagonal shape of the cupola, the chimney to the right, and the half circle window in the pediment. An engraving by Malcolm, engraved in 1800 (Fig. 7), of the Walnut Street Prison shows exactly the same features and confirms in detail the intention of the artist to depict that building in both the finished versions of the painting. In the engraving and in Neagle's paintings alike appear the weathervane with the crossed keys symbolic of the jail, as well as the ball below and the octagonal cupola. Further, there is an iron railing back of the cupola on top of the roof that appears in both the engraving and the paintings, as does the position of the chimney. All of them have the half-circle window in the pediment. The only discrepancy between the engraving and the paintings is Malcolm's indication of the quoins, below the edge of the pediment, as a shaded area. Thus it can be taken as fact that the building in the background of Neagle's painting was intended to be the Walnut Street Prison that had been built by Robert Smith in 1774-1775,[23] the largest building in the colonies when erected.

The Boston Athenaeum owns a small wash drawing on paper, 7¾ x 6½ inches in size. It has written across the bottom, "The first thought sketch for P. Lyon's picture" (Fig. 3). It is a direct, "contrasty" little drawing that substantially sets the final composition, the only change of note being the substitution of boxes in the final renderings for the barrel on the right in the small sketch. It is odd to note that in the small sketch, the smith gives much more appearance of a working blacksmith than in the finished versions. His shirt seems more in keeping with the rest of his working attire and there are no polished buckles on his shoes. On the whole the sketch is quite spontaneously and directly executed.

The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts owns

another small sketch, 9¾ x 8 inches, in oil on canvas (Fig. 4). It is inscribed on the back, "The original study in color by Neagle for the large picture of Pat Lyon, the blacksmith. A rapid sketch for arrangement and general effect, Philad., Penna." Garrett C. Neagle, the son of the artist, has attested that this inscription is in his father's handwriting. The study is painted in a very direct manner, and the pigment is applied rather heavily on a medium coarse canvas. Obviously there was no attempt at achieving a likeness, the main aim being, as Neagle stated on the back, "A rapid sketch for arrangement and general effect."

That Neagle was able to preserve so much of the effect of the sketch, in color and lighting, right up through the two finished versions of the painting is quite remarkable. In the sketch he used a medium ruddy flesh color on the face, with strong reds around the jowls and nose. The values range from a deep brown shadow under the chin to light yellow on the highlighted forehead. This general effect was maintained in the finished portraits as well as such details as the blue of the trouser-leg showing above the highlighted buckle on his right shoe.

Neagle did not paint much reflected light, nor did he paint into the shadows of this small sketch, although there is some slight indication of red painted into the shadow beneath the bench. Basically in browns, the color ranges from black to light brown, with parts in blue, red, and yellow as indicated above. In addition it is apparent that Neagle was little concerned with anatomy in this sketch, taking more pains with the lighting effect and general arrangements, though the figures are substantially placed in the same position as they were in the first wash drawing.

A third preparational sketch, 18½ x 13½ inches, is owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Painted in thin oil on canvas with slight indications of pencil showing, it is obviously the comprehensive compositional sketch, and is done in a spirited manner, generally well executed. On the whole this sketch is quite close to the finished paintings, and in some respects is even closer to the Pennsylvania Academy's version than to the original in Boston. In the sketch Pat is depicted with blue eyes, light brown hair, white shirt, and brown leathern apron, and he has the same ruddy complexion indicated in the finished works. His shirt is very directly modeled, the same sure brush strokes being used in the apron that are used to execute the shirt. Neagle began to pay much more attention to the anatomy in this drawing than heretofore: the arm is drawn and rendered with particular care. Now, also, there is an indication of reflected light from the fires, and the artist has painstakingly drawn in all the tools and carefully modeled the anvil: the tools are tannish brown and greyish blue with white highlights. The

22. Fielding, op.cit., p. 10.

23. I am indebted to Professor Donald D. Egbert of Princeton University for the references to old views of the Walnut Street Prison that helped me to clear up this small iconographical discrepancy. The references are: Joseph Jackson, *Early Philadelphia Architects and Engineers*, Philadelphia, 1922,

Section III, pp. 68-69, and, *The Independence Square Neighborhood*, Philadelphia, The Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company, 1926, pp. 20-21. There is also an old engraving of the Walnut Street Prison showing the keys signed *MUMFORD Sc.* in *Watson's Annals* (see note 17), I, opposite p. 350; to be added to the others.

values in the picture range from the deepest shadow in black, behind Pat, to the white of his shirt, which is the lightest light. The firelight itself was given far greater attention by this time and he emphasized it by indicating rays of light falling on the back wall.

None of these three sketches is dated and all were probably done before October 7, 1826, when Neagle noted that he was engaged "Night & Day" on Pat's picture. In his "Blotter Book" Neagle noted on October 4, 1826: "Painted on small sketch for Pat Lyon's full-length. . . ." He must have been working on the large painting that now hangs in Boston by October 29, 1826, for he again notes in his "Blotter Book" that, "Mr. George Hernisen came to show me his athletic arm as a model for Lyon's." As noted before, by November 10, 1826, he had, "Finished Pat Lyon's face." The purchase of the frame had been arranged, and the last mention of the painting, in the "Blotter Book," was his note on December 6, 1826, agreeing to the exhibiting of the painting.[24] Inasmuch as the Boston painting is signed "J. Neagle 1826-7" he must have worked on it some in the following year.

The Boston portrait, which the Boston Athenaeum bought for $400 direct from Pat Lyon in 1828, is 93 inches high by 63 inches wide. It is painted on a piece of canvas that Neagle purchased from the widow of a Mr. Robinson, English miniature painter, who had sketched some heads of a group on it before his death. Neagle said of this canvas, "It was of light color and well seasoned."[25]

That John Neagle was constantly seeking through experiment to improve his craft is indicated by the two versions of the Pat Lyon portrait, and also by his "Common Place Book" which is full of technical notations and personal experiments as well as of notes on painting methods used by other artists, either told him first hand, or copied by him from books. In it Neagle notes for instance, in relation to the first Pat Lyon painting: "Orpiment when a good quality and used with good megellup, will stand exceedingly well—I think I used it first in *1826* in the original of Pat Lyon. It was in the Summer of *1825* that Mr. Stuart told me how to use it with varnish and he said at that same time that he could render *any color durable* by the same means."[26]

By 1829 Neagle had made the second version of the portrait and this was the one that was to hang in the parlor of Pat Lyon's home until, through the good offices of John Neagle himself, the estate presented it to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (Fig. 2).[27] The painting, signed "John Neagle pinxit-Philad. 1829," measures 94½ x 68½ inches. For this second version Neagle used a less tightly woven canvas, a type of canvas then known as "Barnesly," which he prepared himself. He later noted that in 1839, ten years after painting, the picture was without crack or flaw, and this despite the fact that when sent to an exhibition at the National Academy in New York it had been rolled and unrolled. He went on to say that not only was the canvas sound but that the coloring and effect were as good as when he painted it. This apparently pleased him for he was always discussing, with Sully and other artists, the degree of permanency one kind of color had over another. He used colors in this painting that were supposed to be "treacherous" and was satisfied to note that they had not deteriorated, but, on the contrary, had "preserved their brightness in a place I think not very favorable for the preservation of colors, being at times quite damp; I mean the Penna. Academy of the Fine Art in Chestnut St." These "treacherous" colors that he used were orange mineral and yellow orpiment. He claimed he could make them durable by mixing them with varnish and then varnishing over them immediately. Stuart had told him how to do this and he tried it in the firelight of the second Pat Lyon picture. In that ten year period he said that they had not changed and that he had "proved" them to be permanent—all this contrary to what his father-in-law Sully had told him about their being "treacherous."[28]

It was one thing for Neagle to have been so optimistic about the lasting quality of his technique in 1839 and another to look at the results today; for now the painting is badly checked and cracked—although to this day there seem to be few, if any, checks or cracks in the firelight.[29]

In making a stylistic comparison from photographs of the two paintings it seems immediately obvious that the Boston painting (Fig. 1) carries a greater convic-

24. Lynch, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

25. John Neagle, "Common Place Book." This so-called book is an hitherto unpublished manuscript written by John Neagle and now owned by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The author of the present article hopes to publish this "book" either in monograph form or as part of his projected work on the life and works of John Neagle.

26. John Neagle, *op.cit.*

27. At the present writing the information is indefinite as to whether the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts obtained its painting directly from the estate of Patrick Lyon, or from John Neagle's estate, or whether Neagle was merely the intermediary in the transaction. The Pennsylvania Academy lists it as its property in 1848 for the first time. In regard to this matter Dr. John H. Powell has furnished the following information: "By the will of Patrick Lyon, Robert DeSilver, Lindsay Nicholson, and John Willis were appointed executors. The Abstract of Expenditures in the estate of Patrick Lyon by John Willis, Executor, filed in the office of the Register of Wills, City Hall, Philadelphia, contains the observation that the Neagle full-length portrait of Lyon, appraised at $220, has been deposited for safe-keeping in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and the bust portrait in the possession of Robert DeSilver. The latter is valued at $35."

28. All the above references are from Neagle's "Common Place Book."

29. The second version of the portrait "Pat Lyon at the Forge," in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, has been restored as follows: 1875 by Mr. Charles Richardson, 1912 by Professor Pasquale Farina, 1949 by Joseph Schindler. Mr. Schindler notes that the relining is in bad condition and that the colors are peeling. He thinks that most of the deterioration is due to the previous restorations and regrets that he only had six days' time, including the varnishing and drying, to work on it and consequently the work at the time could not be thorough: he only cleaned and retouched it slightly.

tion of unity. The head of Pat Lyon here is more nearly like the portrait bust owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Fig. 6), and the general effect of this painting is not so "hard" as that of the second version (Fig. 2). The latter has a board to the right of the anvil upon which is depicted the diagram of the general proof for the Pythagorean Theorem: Euclid, Book I, proposition 47. To the author's knowledge this interesting bit of iconography has never received the slightest mention or interpretation. It may well mean nothing more than the intention to indicate Lyon's knowledge of Euclid, for he taught Euclidian geometry to his apprentices.[30] Another possible interpretation is that inasmuch as he was a Mason, and this particular diagram figures in the Masonic ritual, he wanted to call attention to the fact.[31] Or taken in connection with the picture of the prison, it may indicate his personal beliefs in the truths and certainties of mathematical principles as opposed to the transitory character of human actions. It was directly above this diagram that Neagle signed the painting.

Dunlap wrote that Neagle carefully measured all the tools used by Lyon; certainly they are painted in much more detail in the Pennsylvania version than in the one in Boston. Pat may have insisted that they be represented more literally in the second version, the version he was to keep for himself, and he may also have insisted on including here the board with the geometrical drawing which had appeared in the compositional sketch (Fig. 5), but which had been omitted from the Boston painting. Moreover the background of the shop, especially by the fire, is much more clearly and distinctly depicted here than in the more "hazy" rendering of the first painting.

In spite of the greater detail in the second version, that painting mostly lacks the structure of the Boston picture in which, for example, the form of Pat Lyon's right leg beneath the apron is much more convincing. However, it is possible that the deterioration of form in the second version has resulted from too much restoration.[32] Not all of the Pennsylvania version is inferior in structure, for the drawing and painting of the smith's right arm is substantially the same in both versions, a fact that may simply indicate that Neagle and Lyon alike were well satisfied with the way in which the arm had originally been executed.

The color in both pictures retains much the same general plan and effect as in the original sketch (Fig. 4), allowing of course for more detailed rendering and varied use of color in the larger paintings. Nevertheless, the Pennsylvania Academy picture does appear to be slightly higher in key and richer in its use of reds and yellows.

The fact that Lyon employed Neagle to copy his own painting seems to indicate that the client was pleased with both the artist and the portrait. Nor was he alone in admiring the work. The Pennsylvania Academy version caused *Godey's Lady's Book* to pronounce Neagle "a young artist who gave promise of no common genius and skill."[33] Dunlap himself had written that it was "one of the best, and most interesting pictures in the . . . exhibition of the National Academy at the Arcade Baths." He described it as "a blacksmith standing by his anvil, resting his brawny arm and blackened hand upon his hammer, while a youth at the bellows renews the red heat of the iron his master has been laboring on." He goes on to say that, "this picture is remarkable, both for its execution and subject. Mr. Neagle of Philadelphia, the painter, has established his claim to a high rank in his profession, by the skill and knowledge he has displayed in composing and completing so complicated and difficult a work. The figure stands admirably; the dress is truly appropriate; the expression of the head equally so; and the arm a masterly performance. The light and indications of heat, are managed with perfect skill."[34]

This sort of criticism must have been gratifying to both the artist and Lyon. The artist, John Neagle, had vindicated himself to his patron; and he had vindicated the patron in the eyes of all who would come and see, for Pat Lyon had been painted as the humor-loving, honest craftsman that he was, and not as a gentleman.

It is now over one hundred and twenty years since these paintings were finished. They do not stand today as the greatest of Neagle's artistic achievements but they certainly rank as interesting subject matter in the history of American portrait painting. They rank with the important early "genre" portrait paintings in this country—tributes to the native genius of the blacksmith Pat Lyon and tributes to the native genius of the practically self-taught artist, John Neagle.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

THE IDENTITY OF ROBERT FEKE RECONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF W. PHOENIX BELKNAP'S NOTES

BARBARA N. PARKER

In three issues of THE ART BULLETIN during the years 1946-1948* the problem of the origin of Robert Feke, a figure of first importance in the history of early

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30. Powell MS.

31. Professor Carl F. Wittke, Dean of the Graduate School, Western Reserve University, kindly suggested the possible connection between the diagram and Lyon's Masonic membership.

32. The author has in his possession two photographs of the painting taken in 1912 before and after cleaning. The photograph, taken after the cleaning, clearly shows a whole streak of white spots across the picture. In restoring this area it is entirely possible that much of the original painting was

lost.

33. *Godey's Lady's Book*, X, 1835, p. 92 (Powell MS).

34. Dunlap, *op.cit.*, III, p. 169.

* (1) James Thomas Flexner, "Robert Feke," ART BULLETIN, XXVIII, 1946, pp. 197-202; (2) W. Phoenix Belknap, "The Identity of Robert Feke," *ibid.*, XXIX, 1947, pp. 201-207; (3) James Thomas Flexner, "Letter to the Editor," *ibid.*, XXX, 1948, pp. 78-79.

American painting, was discussed by James Thomas Flexner and W. Phoenix Belknap.

Mr. Belknap continued his research after this date and had found several significant documents, which he undoubtedly planned to ask THE ART BULLETIN to publish, but his sudden tragic death, in December 1949, left much unfinished work on his desk. I have been asked to go through his copious notes on Robert Feke, and to put in order for publication such material as would be of value to students. I must first give a brief summary of the problem.

In 1930 Henry Wilder Foote's pioneer biography of Robert Feke had placed Feke's birth in Oyster Bay, Long Island, about 1705, son of a Robert Feke who was known to have lived there, though no birth record of a younger Robert existed. Mr. Foote, after a good deal of open-minded research, concluded there was no reason to doubt the tradition of unknown origin, published in 1860 in the *Historical Magazine* and signed *S. F.* and *J. G. S.*, that the painter was a native of Oyster Bay. Establishing him as a native American had more significance than might be supposed by the uninitiated, for Feke's lack of European training and the charm of his Colonial style has been stressed by art historians. In 1946 in a Note in THE ART BULLETIN Mr. Flexner seriously challenged the Long Island tradition. He pointed out that the first certain evidence of the painter in this country was his signature and the date 1741 on the large group portrait of the Royall Family of Medford, Mass., now owned by the Harvard Law School. As a result, one could conjecture that Feke might have stepped off a ship in Boston Harbor, a middle-aged man from England or the Continent, who quickly, because of his foreign training, was able to secure the important Royall commission. Certain similarities in the painting to the Berkeley Group portrait, painted by Smibert, could be accounted for by the fact that Isaac Royall might have said, "I want a group portrait such as that of Bishop Berkeley," having no other model in Boston to go by. While Mr. Flexner did not see in Feke's style any evidence of European training, and was willing to conclude that "whatever Feke's origin, wherever he received his first training, we may regard his pictures as examplars of American painting," he insisted that "whether Feke was born in America, it is impossible to be sure."

Mr. Belknap, in his Note in the BULLETIN of 1947, took up the challenge, and as a result of an enormous amount of careful research into records of the Feke family of Oyster Bay, Long Island, and of the Feke family of Newport, R.I., was able to establish beyond a reasonable doubt, at least in the minds of most scholars with whom I have talked, that Robert Feke the painter who lived in Newport in the 1740's must have come from Long Island. Mr. Flexner in his short answering letter in 1948 conceded that Mr. Belknap had made three factual contributions to the Feke problem: "(1) His researches on Robert Feke, Jr., of Oyster Bay add to the likelihood that there actually was such a man. (2) Mr. Belknap presents evidence to show that there was much moving back and forth between Oyster Bay and Newport and that various members and relations of the Oyster Bay Feke family were connected with Newport in various ways. . . . (3) Mr. Belknap has unearthed a new document explanatory of the *Historical Magazine* correspondence. [Mr. Belknap, though unable to identify the *S. F.* correspondent, discovered that *J. G. S.* was the distinguished American historian John Gilmary Shea]." But Mr. Flexner was still unconvinced, and insisted that it was not family tradition which first suggested that the painter came from Oyster Bay, but an unidentified *S. F.* who started the rumor in January 1860, without giving the source of his information.

Mr. Belknap in the months before he died was able to unearth the source of *S. F.*'s information. He found in the back files of *The Daily News* of Newport a letter from the painter's own grandson, John Feke Townsend, which when compared with *S. F.*'s account of January 1860, in the *Historical Magazine*, is so like it in wording, though more ample in content, that it is unquestionably the source from which *S. F.* repeated his information. It reads as follows:

The Daily News, *Newport, Tuesday morn'g, Nov. 15, 1859* [p. 2, col. 1—2nd leader]

ROBERT FEKE, THE ARTIST

The letter [from J. F. Fisher] quoted by us from the last number of the Historical Magazine, inquiring about Robert Feke, the artist, has drawn out, as we hoped, a most excellent account of him from one of his descendants. We give below the letter of our venerable townsmen [sic], as an interesting contribution to the Annals of Newport, and commend it to the indefatigable editors of the Historical Magazine. This is only a single instance of the good service they are doing in drawing out and securing the materials of history that would pass away with each generation.

"My grandfather, Robert Feke, the artist, of the incidents of whose life some enquiry is made in the Philadelphia [sic] Historical Magazine, for the month of November, was, I believe, in the second descent [sic] from a Dutch family, that in the early colonization of Long Island, settled at the head of Oyster Bay. His father was a zealous follower of the faith of Geo. Fox, which was prevalent in that vicinity; his son Robert preferred that of the Baptists, and joined himself to them by baptism; this was so offensive to the father, that he went so far in his resentment as to follow him to the water and to forbid him to enter into it on pain of disinheritance. He then left the home of his youth, was absent on voyages abroad several years, in what capacity is unknown, in one of which, in time of war, he became a prisoner and was carried into Spain. There he procured paints and brushes and while in prison he whiled away much of his time in rude paintings, which on his release he sold, and so procured the means of returning to his own country. He soon came to this town, where he married a worthy

daughter of English parentage; she was a Quakeress, and he ever remained a Baptist, and worthy member of the North Baptist church; he usually attended her to the door of her church and then directed his steps to his own. Here was his home for over twenty years, where he cultivated his favorite art with little instruction, which in the infancy of the colony could not be had, excepting occasional visits to Philadelphia, in both which vicinities are probably more remains of his artistical labors than have yet come to light. In our Redwood library is a likeness of the wife of Governor Wanton, which a granddaughter informed me was painted by him, that of the Governor being done in England. Likenesses by his own hand of himself and wife, are now in the possession of one of his descendants Mrs. Phila, wife of Wm. Bullock, Esq., of Providence, which he did not live to finish. His health declined, and he sought the mild climate of Bermuda, where he deceased. His age was about forty-five. He left three sons and two daughters; his oldest son, John, was a promising young master of a ship in the English trade, which by the mistake of the pilot, with all on board was lost in the English channel. Another was the late Charles Feke, well known as the apothecary or druggist. All his descendants are now in the female line and have ever held his memory in reverential respect.

JOHN F. TOWNSEND"

John Feke Townsend,[1] son of the painter's daughter Phila, was born in Newport in 1777, some years after his grandfather's decease, but his grandmother, the artist's widow, Mrs. Eleanor Cozzens Feke, lived in Newport until her death in 1804. She could hardly have failed to transmit correctly her husband's origin, especially since we know from Mr. Belknap's previous article that various members of the Feke family of Oyster Bay were known to people in Newport. There is some evidence that Mrs. Feke lived in the same house with her grandson in her later years.

Another document recently uncovered,[2] which strengthens the point, is a notebook entitled "Items of

Family Record Collected by Mary T[ownsend] Babcock," who was a great-granddaughter of the artist, a niece of John Feke Townsend, and a sister of Phila Townsend Bullock who inherited the late self-portrait of the artist and that of his wife. In this notebook and in several letters written to Miss Ruth H. Smith in 1879, Mrs. Babcock tells much the same story as her uncle. She confides to Miss Smith, however, that while her uncle always believed the Feke family of Oyster Bay were of Dutch origin, *her* side of the household insisted they were Welsh. "The first, and so far as we can find the only early settler of this name came to New England about 1630. . . . I have no knowledge of any other of the name till I find my great great grandfather at Oyster Bay, Long Island. . . ." (For a full account of the origins of the Feke family of Oyster Bay see W. P. Belknap's previous article, *op.cit.*)

Another bit of family tradition which Mrs. Babcock mentions is that Robert Feke's "oldest daughter Phila received her name from a beautiful Jewess whom Robert Feke admired in his early unmarried life." Henry Wilder Foote in his biography had already conjectured (footnote p. 52) that Feke's daughter might have received her unusual name from Phila Franks of New York. Others, however, have thought it came from the fact that her father was known to have made several successful painting trips to Philadelphia. That Mr. Belknap was checking this question carefully is evidenced by the fact that in his papers he notes that while Phila Feke is so named in her marriage record, and her granddaughter was so christened, she is called Philadelphia in certain other formal documents.

This evidence so painstakingly gathered by Mr. Belknap and derived from Robert Feke's direct descendants should establish beyond a reasonable doubt the fact that Robert Feke the painter of Newport was born in Oyster Bay, Long Island, a son of the Robert Feke residing there in the eighteenth century, and it gives added reason for accepting certain details of his life which *S. F.* described in his 1860 article and which have been under scrutiny. It does not fix for us the exact dates of birth or death, but it supports the statement that he died in Bermuda.

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1. The following is based on genealogical notes among the Belknap papers.
2. Called to Mr. Belknap's attention by Mr. C. P. Mona-

hon, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, when he catalogued it in 1947.

BOOK REVIEWS

RUDOLF WITTKOWER, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, London, The Warburg Institute, 1949. 144 pages, 41 pls., 10 figs. $9.40.

Dr. Wittkower's rare and admirable gift for finding a new approach to familiar problems is again demonstrated in a book which is certain to have a profound and salutary effect on the study of Renaissance architecture. As the title indicates, his concern is not so much with the history of architecture as it is with the history of architectural thought and, as such, introduces us to books more than to buildings. The books are monuments in themselves—the great theoretical writings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which, though they have always been available, have discouraged the scholar by their bulk and obscurity of expression. Dr. Wittkower has managed not only to overcome the discouragement but to exact from the uncongenial pages a lively and significant commentary on the architecture of the century between Alberti and Palladio. The study of the interrelation of theory and practice is a particularly good idea at this moment, as the architectural preoccupations of the twentieth century have put us all a little out of touch with the Renaissance, and we are very much in need of new modes of making its acquaintance.

But the study of architectural principles has a purpose beyond that of providing new interpretations of monuments, for it gives us a means of understanding architecture in the light of the general culture of its period. It is on the level of ideas that the liberal arts meet on a common ground, particularly in the "Age of Humanism," and it is here that we have the chance to discuss problems in the Fine Arts alongside those in Philosophy, Science, Music, and Literature. The consideration of architecture from this point of view, in addition to the broadening of vision which it provides the architectural historian, has the advantage of making our studies intelligible and meaningful to colleagues in other fields and to an interested non-academic public at large. It is in this sense that Wittkower's book illustrates one of the fundamental virtues of the Warburg tradition, transferring to the study of architecture a historical attitude that has proven its worth in other fields of the Fine Arts.

The subject is presented in a series of four loosely-connected essays, three of which have been published in somewhat different form as articles in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. As each successive chapter involves us in a more-or-less self-contained problem with all the intensity of an article in a scholarly publication, the book is not one to read through at a sitting. This is not merely the result of collecting several studies written over a span of years but is a treatment well adapted to the first sallies into a vast and unexplored area. There is, to be sure, a common denominator: the humanist mind; and in particular, the two minds whose writings and buildings had the widest

influence in their period—Alberti and Palladio. But the composition is perhaps a little more formless than necessary and, given the unfamiliarity of the theoretical material, an introduction and conclusion setting the several chapters against the larger background of Humanist culture would have aided us in digesting some uncommonly demanding subject matter.

As may be expected, a study of architecture in the light of Humanist culture puts a strong emphasis on the antique tradition or, to be more precise, on the interpretations of this tradition in their evolution through the Renaissance. It appears here transformed and recreated to serve the theological and philosophical purposes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It comes as a huge relief that at last this problem should be seriously investigated, for the study of Renaissance architecture has suffered far too long from meaningless generalizations on this theme. Wittkower shows us that it is not sufficient to point out the existence of motifs from the Pantheon, Vitruvian methods or Pythagorean terminology; we must investigate intensively where, when, why, and how these manifestations appear, and what they mean in terms of civilization.

To the study of architecture as a facet of the history of culture Wittkower brings a sensitive appreciation for the monuments themselves. The chapters on Alberti and Palladio, quite aside from opening new historical perspectives, constitute basic reading in the field of criticism.

In the first essay, treating "The Centrally-Planned Church of the Renaissance," Wittkower revives a historical method that has been more-or-less neglected in Renaissance studies of the last fifty years: the typological approach. This method apparently fell into disrepute because its proponents failed to go beyond a primitive analysis of forms into the problems of cause and meaning which constitute the core of the present study.

The great preoccupation of the Renaissance with central plan is only dimly reflected in the remaining monuments. A large number of central-plan churches have been destroyed; even more were changed into a longitudinal type in the process of execution and uncountable numbers for which plans and sketches remain were never begun. Those which do exist are for the most part off the beaten track, and the traveler can fruitfully spend several weeks among the major cities of Italy without seeing more than two or three. But picking up any architectural text, any volume of architectural projects of the period, one will scarcely find a church which is not a Greek cross, or circular, oval, or polygonal in plan. The apparent contradiction is easily explained: the central plan was difficult to adapt to liturgical purposes and, being a novelty, it was stubbornly resisted by conservative patrons. What has to be explained is the indomitable enthusiasm of virtually every Renaissance architect for a rather impractical and decidedly unpopular form.

The question is usually avoided or, even worse,

answered by some offhand reference to Renaissance paganism or delight in pure form. This is bound to be the case as long as a fundamental source of knowledge is left unexplored: the Renaissance writings on the subject. Wittkower considers first the earliest and richest of these sources, Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*. Here the great humanist and architect takes the revolutionary position that the basilical form, standard throughout the later Middle Ages, is unsuitable to religious building. He substitutes the central plan and, in particular, the circular, allowing as well a limited number of rectangular types. While it is clear that antique sources are at the root of these ideas (the monumental, as represented by central-plan temples, tombs, and so forth, and the theoretical, represented in the tradition of the circle and square as the most perfect geometrical forms), Alberti leaves no doubt that his intention is religious, that he feels an unassailable theological justification for the revolution. Throughout later writings, from Francesco di Giorgio to Palladio, the preference for the central plan is implicitly given a philosophical-religious foundation and explicitly derived from antique sources. The most significant manifestation of the preoccupation with certain geometrical forms is found in the infinite number of drawings and book illustrations exemplifying the Vitruvian principle that the proportions of temples should be derived from those of the human body. By far the most common theorem to be depicted was that the body of a man with arms and legs extended fits into the two most perfect geometrical figures, the circle and square. Wittkower convincingly demonstrates that this *Homo ad circulum* (*quadratum*) has a far deeper significance than is likely to be attributed to it by proponents of the Burckhardtian school. His passages from Pacioli and Zorzi indicate that the symbol was taken as a metaphor for a conception of the harmony of the human body as the microcosmic figuration of the harmony of the universe. The church founded on human proportions and hence, to the Renaissance, on the square and circle, accordingly imitates a celestial architecture. The short survey of central plan buildings from S. Maria delle Carceri on illustrates the realization of Alberti's program in a considerable variety of forms. In Bramante's design for St. Peter's, religious symbolism, ecclesiastical functionalism, geometrical theory, and antique spatial conception are integrated in a form which combines the cross with the circle and square.

The problem posed is to find the means of generalizing from a confusing diversity of evidence on the subject towards a view of the Renaissance concept in the large. We are challenged to evaluate the respective roles of antique architecture, abstract mathematics, Vitruvian theory and interpretation, theological formulations, and plain taste. Wittkower's closing section on "The Religious Symbolism of Centralized Churches" offers an interpretation which brings the varied manifestations into perspective. The Platonic tradition provides the source for the identification of mathematical forms and harmonies with the Godhead. In neoplatonic literature, the figure of the circle as a symbol for God and the universe appears frequently. The rationalized

architecture of the Renaissance, seeking, in contrast to the mediaeval, a scientific foundation, linked the practical mathematics of space-control with this symbolic tradition. In a stimulating concluding paragraph, Wittkower proposes that the overthrow of the mediaeval Latin cross in favor of the central plan signifies a basic change in religious thought. He concludes: "[The] Latin cross plan was the symbolic expression of Christ Crucified. The Renaissance, as we have seen, did not lose sight of this principle. What had changed was the conception of the Godhead: Christ as the essence of perfection and harmony superseded Him who had suffered on the cross for humanity, the Pantocrator replaced the Man of Sorrows."

This demonstration of the philosophical and religious background of a particular evolution of architectural form is invaluable. It gives a third dimension to our view of the subject and we are able to come to that rare feeling that we have a means of communication with the architects of those two centuries which are perhaps even more strange to us than the preceding ages. It is to no purpose to ask whether the essay settles the problems it discusses for good and all. Not only is the stuff too complex to be ultimately resolved but to each student it will suggest different answers. It is Wittkower's aim to offer a comprehensible solution in the scope of a limited study. In following the argument, a few divergent paths of investigation suggest themselves which are offered here as a kind of supplementary footnote.

The purposeful theoretical orientation of the study tends to throw into the background the problem of the direct influence of ancient monuments, which is considered only in passing. The author is quite aware of the vast number of ancient central-plan buildings which survived through the Renaissance and were studied with extraordinary thoroughness, but I think that he allows too little significance to the fact that a great number which are now known or thought to be tombs, nymphaea, baths, or actually mediaeval structures, were then thought to be temples. In fact, he has gravely underestimated the number of central-plan remains surviving today which actually were temples, limiting them to three (p. 4 n. 6). It has occurred to me as a likely possibility that the predecessors of Palladio believed that by far the majority of Roman temples were centrally planned. Surely Brunelleschi came to the conception of S. Maria degli Angeli more through visits to Rome than from philosophical or mathematical principles still inchoate in his lifetime. Even Palladio, in the face of Vitruvius, begins the discussion of forms in his fourth book on antiquity with the words, "I tempii si fanno ritondi; quadrangulari; di sei, otto e più cantoni, i quali tutti finiscano nella capacità di un cerchio," following with a justification of the revival of the pagan form, "per servare il *Decoro*," a Vitruvian term suggesting, among other things, tradition. In short, it is necessary to avoid the implication that the philosophical preference for the central plan caused the Renaissance to deny or distort the evidence of antiquity, for there is ample reason to believe that the ruins them-

selves offered weighty authority for the revival on purely formal grounds. Possibly the elaborate theological justification of the form had in part the purpose of lending an odor of sanctity to the conscious revival of the pagan type. The emphasis on this element of revival in no sense detracts from the central argument.

In making certain references to mediaeval architecture, the author suggests a path of investigation which undoubtedly has some bearing on the problem: the mediaeval central-plan tradition. I find it striking, for example, that ten of the twelve fifteenth century churches of this type cited on p. 18 are dedicated to, or connected with, the Virgin—a symbolism with roots in Early Christian architecture. The fact that the central-plan churches become rare only after the beginning of the Romanesque period may be of significance in tracking down the roots of Renaissance symbolism. A key to the mediaeval tradition perhaps may be found in the pictorial arts which bridge the late mediaeval gap.

Finally, there is the philosophical problem itself. The interpretation of the theoretical position in terms of Neoplatonism is convincing but leaves us with the rather uneasy feeling that we must put together quite different personalities in the same school. Francesco di Giorgio, for example, is militantly Aristotelian in expression and an Aristotelian method of logic is detectable in Lombard theorists in general. Of course, in dealing with the fifteenth century, it is very difficult to draw strict lines between one philosophic tradition and another but something may come of investigating divergences in method after having observed the similarities. It occurs to me that the ubiquitous *homo ad circulum*, a symbol for the Vitruvian system of proportions, suggests the approach to the universal through the particular, rather than the converse. This position is illustrated in Francesco di Giorgio's Prologue to Book III: "Benchè naturalmente ogni scienza sia dagli uomini desiderata, come testifica Aristotile nella sua Metafisica, nientedimeno, oltre alle altre, si pascono nella natural filisofia e metafisica nella quale natural filisofia per le cose sensibili e manifeste si elevano alla cognizione delle intelligibili occulte. . . ." Later, in contrast with Palladio's comparison of the temple to the universe, he refers to the temple as "tutto un corpo artifiziale assimiliato in molte cose allomo." The result may be very much the same but, as the method is different, the diversities may prove to have significance.

The chapter entitled "Alberti's Approach to Antiquity in Architecture" concerns itself principally with the evolution of Alberti's style in its relation to ancient architecture. In spite of the fact that Alberti is anything but an obscure personality, this is the first critical treatment of his buildings in twenty-five years. Scholars have probably been scared away by the confounding scarcity of documents on Alberti's activity. The gentleman-architect neither executed his own projects nor received payment for his designs and, in consequence, about half his work remains to be placed in time; some of it may yet be unidentified. For this reason, this is likely to prove the most controversial chapter in the book, as the reconstruction of Alberti's stylistic development is bound to be built on certain subjective assumptions.

Wittkower treats exclusively the four church façades in a discussion which emerges from an expert analysis of Alberti's theory of the column and pier. The problem posed by the writings is Alberti's indecision about how to reconcile the column with a wall architecture, and how to resolve what he felt to be the inconsistency between the column and the arch. Wittkower sets out to demonstrate the resolution of this problem in the course of the twenty years of building experience which follow the writing of the treatise and to indicate how the evolution toward S. Andrea in Mantua illustrates a gradual change in Alberti's approach to antiquity. The first façade, S. Francesco in Rimini, employs antique elements in conjunction with mediaeval in a quasi-romantic way, and the column as ornament is applied after the fashion of the triumphal arch. At S. Maria Novella the further use of applied columns, here more classical in detail, appears in a more rationalized setting. In the analysis of S. Sebastiano and S. Andrea in Mantua we see the column abandoned for the pilaster, signifying the full realization of the requirements of a wall architecture. For the former, the classical temple front is adapted to suit the requirements of the façade and later altered to a freer fantasy based on the same theme; a change prefiguring the imaginative and subjective dealing with antiquity at S. Andrea.

Now this account has a disturbing quality, for we are bound to ask why just the problem of the column and pilaster should have been chosen as the key to Alberti's approach to ancient architecture? If instead we isolate the plans of Alberti's churches, the evolution with respect to antiquity superficially seems to take almost the opposite direction: from the great (unexecuted) central-plan choir projected for S. Francesco (a problem strangely omitted from the previous chapter; cf. the de Pasti medal, pl. 15a) to the Greek cross of S. Sebastiano and, finally, the Latin cross of S. Andrea. Or, granting the validity of the column-wall investigation, why the limitation to church façades? Certainly the adoption of the pilaster order for the Palazzo Ruccellai has a historical role of inestimable importance; and here there is the intriguing problem of the court arcade: whether it is Alberti's and, if so, why, against his principles, he combined the arch and column? Moreover, the palace poses a chronological problem which must be considered along with the still unsolved dating of Sta. Maria Novella, and perhaps answered with damaging effect to the development proposed.

This particular view of Alberti's development tends, in fact, to prejudice the conclusions that emerge from a stimulating and revealing analysis of the several façades. I am especially attracted by the exposition of the geometrical harmony in Sta. Maria Novella, although I cannot accept the conclusion (p. 41) that "it is the rigid application of this conception of harmony which marks the unmediaeval character of this pseudo-proto-Renaissance façade, and which makes it the first great Renaissance exponent of classical *eurhythmia*."

The geometric theory here made explicit seems to me to be the rationalized offspring of the Gothic elevation *ad quadratum*, which establishes interrelated modular squares within an embracing square. As it lacks the module which connects plan to elevation (Vitruvius uses the lower diameter of the column), the façade is to this extent unclassical. Even a certain Gothic genealogy for the design itself might be suggested by the rear façade of the Florence Badia and the façade of the cathedral of Todi.

The alterations to S. Sebastiano in Mantua which began soon after Alberti's death and culminated in a hideous modernization twenty-five years ago turn the author's attention primarily to the problem of reconstruction. His solution (pp. 42f.; fig. 7) proposes for a preliminary stage in the design a six-pilaster order and a monumental flight of stairs across the façade. For alternate possibilities one might refer to the sixteenth century restoration of the Tor de' Schiavi published by Egger (*Architektur-Zeichnungen der Albertina*, I, Vienna, 1903, fig. 18), in which the temple-front and wall-façade are to some degree merged and where a precedent may be found for an arched entrance into the crypt on the ground level. The stairs are disposed, oddly enough, in the same manner as they are in the recent remodeling, which cannot be said on this account to gain authority. In this connection I would like to cite another document on S. Sebastiano which remains unpublished: a plan remarkably similar to that of Labacco (cf. note, p. 45), with only three doors on the façade of the main portico. It appears on fol. 140 of a sketchbook in the Siena Biblioteca Communale by Oreste Vannocci Biringucci, who, in 1583-1585, was architect to the court of Mantua. While the evidence of the Labacco drawing alone gives full credence to Wittkower's theory that it was copied from an unexecuted project of Alberti, the strong probability that the second drawing was executed in situ supports the conclusion that the two outermost doors were not part of Alberti's program. This would certainly have some bearing on the employment of four rather than six pilasters on the façade, and perhaps on the interpretation of the passage on which Wittkower bases the theory of an early and later design by Alberti. The succinct analysis of S. Andrea demonstrates the combination of temple front with triumphal arch in the majestic portico; an elaboration of the idea of S. Sebastiano. These porticos are fascinating inventions in themselves. One wonders why the concept was put aside in practice, to emerge again only in the more classicised secular buildings of Palladio.

The chapter on "Principles of Palladio's Architecture" faces a problem entirely different from the previous one; while there has been too little investigation of Alberti, there has been too much of Palladio. One would think that nothing remained to be said on a subject which has had a ponderous bibliography over the centuries but how gratifying it is to be disabused as these few pages lead us brilliantly into unfamiliar dimensions. The republication of this work comes on the trail of three recent studies (Pée on the palaces, 1941; dalla Pozza's collection of biographical essays, 1943; and Pane's critical survey, 1948) which, in spite of their considerable proportions and high seriousness, lack the stature of this epilogue. The difference is essentially this: that while these books concern themselves almost exclusively with buildings and documents, which we know well enough, Wittkower introduces us to the architect himself, who has remained buried under deposits of praise. Architecture is of course still the main theme of the study but the unnecessary rehearsal of the characteristics of each building gives way to the establishment of comprehensive precepts which underlie their style.

The study of Palladio's modes of thought and cultural environment in the first section is in itself proof of the validity of Wittkower's approach, for once we penetrate into Palladio's schooling—the circle of Trissino and Barbaro—we realize that his architecture requires this background to give it life. If Palladio had been less of the universal man, the story of his education, researches, and publications would perhaps only have distracted us from the significance of his architecture but as he himself consciously evolved his style as a function of his classical learning, we should by ignoring this discredit both ourselves and him. Palladio's early development under the tutelage of Trissino and the importance of this for the development of his style and theory has been frequently discussed but nowhere so well understood. Less familiar is the relationship with Barbaro, which among other things, brings to hand the Barbaro edition of Vitruvius as a secondary source. In reading this brief sub-chapter, one is constantly impressed by the facility with which a succinct and ingratiating portrayal emerges from a profound and extensive scholarship.

In considering the villas, the author analyzes principally the geometrical preoccupations which give consistency to the various solutions employed throughout Palladio's career. He demonstrates the abstract schemes which underlie the composition of the plans and elevations of these buildings in which the predilection for symmetry is for the first time in Renaissance architecture developed into a principle. Particularly revealing is the discussion of the adoption of the temple front as the basic element for the villa façade.

Oddly enough, the typical Palladian villa, for all its concern with antique principles, is quite unrelated to its antique prototypes. Palladio's geometrical vision carries him much farther from the classical villa than the architects of the early sixteenth century. In contrast, his palaces and public buildings studied in the next section are conceived in a more archaeological spirit than their forerunners of the previous generation. Analysis of plans and façades reveals the balance of two generating forces: the antique house and civic building, and the influence of the Roman palace of the High Renaissance. I am particularly struck by the insight into mannerist method in the passage on Palazzo Valmarana and by the theory on the design of the Loggia del Capitano.

The final section follows the development of Palladio's highly individual solution for the church façade: the intersecting temple fronts. The problem of the church façade had worried Italian architects ever since the late Middle Ages. They were almost psychotic on the subject of Gothic façades, which rarely got executed at all, and one suspects that even in Palladio's time the Roman solution in the tradition of Sto. Spirito in Sassia was accepted as the least of evils. Wittkower traces the intersecting temple fronts suggested by Vitruvius through the Bramante school to Palladio (was he conscious of this background?), and demonstrates in an excellent analysis the sources and genesis of the final solution at Il Redentore in Venice.

If there is any reservation about the study as a whole it is that one fails to sense a logic of construction. The method of treatment of villas and palaces leads one to expect an investigation of church plans, which is absent. The study of the geometry of the villas avoids the problem of their architectural setting, particularly those loggie and wings which lend spatial dimension and movement to the main body. The villa section, moreover, does not consider the question of the relation to, or departure from, antiquity in the genesis of the plans. One feels that too much care has been given to the task of limiting the scope of this piece to the proportions of an article.

One of the directions in which expansion seems indicated is toward the study of Palladio's relationship with his more immediate past. Wittkower convincingly illustrates the influence of Bramante and his circle in the early development of the palace façades, and properly subdues Dalla Pozza's overestimation of the function of Serlio. Michelangelo and Giulio are mentioned in passing. But the period of 1520-1555 deserves considerably more emphasis. Giulio seems to me to be of tremendous importance. Palladio must have studied his Roman palaces, which turn Bramante's bold rustication to a sophisticated pattern laid thinly onto the wall; the Palazzo del Te with Palladian suggestion on every hand (and particularly in the plan, which is so suggestive of Palazzo Thiene); the *Casa* in Mantua. Antonio Sangallo the younger plays his role in monumentalizing the palace entranceway and courtyard and possibly as a forerunner of the early symmetrical villa plans (particularly in the unpublished drawing of a villa for the Cardinal Sta. Croce, Uffizi, *Arch.* 828-829). But his career once under way, the development of Palladio's mannerism shows the support and often the influence of Vignola, Ammanati, Ligorio, and Alessi (for example, the plan projected for the Ca' del Diavolo brings the hemicycle motif into the court in a fashion which must have been suggested by the Villa Giulio).

To put it briefly, the trouble with this chapter is that it is not a book; which, being the converse of the traditional situation in Palladio literature, signalizes the distinguished quality of Wittkower's contribution.

The closing chapter on "The Problem of Harmonic Proportion in Architecture" has a special importance. It is the first general study of the Renaissance theory of architectural proportion; it brings to life what has in fact become a lost science, and it is sound, objective, and convincing. The strict historical objectivity elevates the investigation far above the familiar studies on proportion which exert such a powerful fascination on the mystical mind. The considerable task of introducing the layman (and here almost all of us are laymen) to a complex and completely unfamiliar field is achieved with directness and simplicity and it is the material itself rather than the author that makes severe demands on our concentration.

Those who have read among the theorists of the Renaissance will be familiar with the intimate relationships that existed between musical and artistic theory. The general vocabulary of studies on proportion is borrowed from the musicians, and wherever numerical mathematics are discussed we are confronted with the strange terms of mediaeval harmonics. Observing this phenomenon in the age of specialization, we tend to content ourselves with the conclusion that the relationship was metaphorical or at most constituted a learned effort to be encyclopedic. What Wittkower reveals is that the reasoning which caused the Renaissance to regard architecture as spatial music was not merely figurative but analytic. Proportions in architecture emerged from a theory of harmony identical with the musical and inseparable from it. The justification for the adoption of musical harmonic technique—and it is here that we gain a profound insight into the humanist mind—lay in the fact that it was seen to be prefigured in the cosmic harmony of the universe, which is inherent in nature and may be discovered by experiment. This in fact is the application to the theory of numbers of the same philosophical position demonstrated for geometrical theory in the chapter on central-plan churches. Its roots are in the Pythagorean and Platonic tradition which, while it survived only as a faint echo in Gothic architectural theory, was kept alive in musical and mathematical writings throughout the Middle Ages. To give even the roughest outline of this discussion is not within the scope of a review. Let it suffice to say that it must be read by anyone interested in the theory of architecture and that it illuminates not only Renaissance but mediaeval and post-Palladian architectural thought.

What I find the most exciting portion of the study is the investigation of what the author terms "Palladio's 'fugal' system of Proportion." Based principally on the measurements which accompany the engravings of the *Quattro libri*, it reveals how the Palladian structure is conceived so that the dimensions of the several parts relate to one another and to the whole in such a way that the buildings may be translated into a complex of "tones" producing a consistent mathematical harmony. In addition, it is demonstrated that the architectural method is so sensitive to the development of musical theory that Palladio's divergences from fifteenth century harmony are based on the admission in the first half of the sixteenth century of additional consonances to the Pythagorean law—just the expansion of possibilities which made way for the music of Palestrina.

It is gratifying to be provided at the end of this study with an account of the fate of harmonic proportion in the centuries following Palladio, for on being introduced to a science which had passed unnoticed out of our culture, our curiosity is aroused as to how and why it became a mystery. It is a rare historical irony that Palladio remained the high-priest of architectural proportion in northern classical architecture long after his method had been forgotten.

Now as this discussion concerns theory, it may seem to have only a vague connection with the buildings themselves, especially as the measurements of a great number of Renaissance plans and elevations may diverge in varying degrees from abstract harmonic principles. But I think we may consider that the adoption of the Pythagorean-Platonic system was fundamental to the very technique of Renaissance architecture, for it appears that it was through this system that the fifteenth century learned the mathematical tools required for a new style of construction. The Gothic architects had relied almost exclusively on a debased Euclidian geometry for their mathematical calculations. The adoption of a fractional system of numbers, multiplication and division, in the fifteenth century was evidently accelerated largely by the demands of harmony; particularly the necessity for finding the mean proportionals (described on pp. 96f.). For Alberti, fractional mathematics was a new and still laborious study. He discusses it only in connection with harmony and the proportionals (*De re aedificatoria*, IX, 6): "Hanc arithmeticam mediocritatem perdifficile est ubi vis adinvenisse numeris, sed lineis eadem bellissime explicatur. . . . Tertia mediocritas quae musica dicitur paulo est quam arithmetica laboriosior; numeris tamen bellissime diffinitur." The harmonic vocabulary and method was inextricably tied up with the whole study of numerical mathematics in architecture, a situation reflected in the field of music itself, where it had long since been extended beyond the theoretical study of harmonics into the technique of notation. That the influence of rationalized proportion on technique was accompanied by an even more direct influence on style need hardly be pointed out. In short, Wittkower's clarification of a fundamental precept of Renaissance architecture at once provides a new tool of scholarship and opens new fields of investigation and, whichever way we turn in our studies, it is likely to enrich our perceptions.

Of the book as a whole there is little to be said that does not pertain to its parts. The four sections are linked by the reappearance of individuals, theories, and philosophies. But what makes a unity more than anything else is the author's method, which is the search for general principles beneath the surface of the architecture itself. Wittkower is not the first to make this attempt in the Renaissance field but it can safely be said that he is the first to succeed.

Such a concentration on the intellectual component in artistic creativity may meet with the criticism that aesthetic quality is thus denied its primary place in the history of art. To which it may be answered that the intellectual and the abstract have no more and no less

significance for the art historian than they had for the architect of the past. The contribution of this book to Renaissance studies is its demonstration with learning and perception of what this significance is and was.

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American Academy in Rome

JAN-ALBERT GORIS and JULIUS S. HELD, *Rubens in America*, New York, Pantheon Books, Inc., 1947. 59 pages, 120 plates.

Peter Paul Rubens has never been much liked or coveted by the American public. Consequently in the older collections of the United States we find very few of his works. Their absence cannot simply be attributed to the effect of Ruskinian primitivism or classicistic prejudice because during the same period the paintings of Rembrandt were collected very successfully and in great numbers. Rubens had no "soul," had apparently no deep feeling in which one could indulge; on the other hand, he is not a teller of stories by which one might be diverted. The splendor of his colors, the richness of invention, the grandiose fugue of his compositions, the impetuosity of his devotion, even his sensuousness, in short all that is meant by the general term "Baroque," could not easily be digested and appreciated by a society of puritan upbringing; such a society had no conception of the flamboyant architecture of the seventeenth century Jesuit churches or the heavy decoration of the palaces and patrician houses which formed the incomparable frame of the phantasies in color and movement of Peter Paul Rubens. Of course in eighteenth and nineteenth century America, painters and critics did exist who admired Rubens' color technique, as it had always been admired, and considered him a great artist (some examples of this point of view are to be found in the introduction to *Rubens in America*). But the general public and even many true art enthusiasts retained a certain apathy toward Rubens and his work. Even in our day, the public passing through the Viennese exhibition in the American museums looked upon the most famous and remarkable paintings by Rubens displayed there with a certain respect, but without much interest, and probably would have exchanged the whole group of Rubens with pleasure for just one of the Viennese Peter Breughels which could not be sent across the sea.

But the indifference to the art of Rubens cannot be blamed entirely on the American public, for a great part of it is also the fault of Rubens and the works rightly or wrongly presented under his name. The enormous differences in quality among these works do not encourage a just or enthusiastic appreciation of the merits of Rubens. We know of the well-organized and very busy industry practiced by the studio under his direction. In consequence, as is well known, many big "machines" are exhibited as being by Rubens that show the participation of the master's hand only in varying

degree, sometimes in no more than some retouching. And even in cases where there can be little doubt but that most of the surface is actually by Rubens himself, among these *manu propria* works, too, there are many which, while always admirable in technique and detail, do not embody the full vigor of Rubens' art, because they were not made wholeheartedly and enthusiastically but for the sake of business. Pictures of this kind are interesting to the expert, the Rubens specialist, the Rubenist painter interested in technique, and so on, but they are usually passed over by the average spectator.

An oeuvre catalogue has been made by Dr. Julius Held in *Rubens in America*, and it is a work of thorough and honest scholarly craftsmanship. Two hundred and thirty-four items in American collections are listed which were, or still are, attributed to Rubens. Of these Dr. Held has eliminated one hundred and seven (enumerated in an appendix) and as a whole his cautious and critical decisions are to be approved. Some interesting realizations arise from this gathering of the pictures. In 1914 only forty-one works ascribed to Rubens (including doubtful ones) were to be found in the collections of this country as against one hundred and twenty-five or more acknowledged by Dr. Held (although sometimes with a question mark) that have been acquired since that time; that seems a considerable increase. But there are, to be sure, quite a few paintings by Rubens within this large number that are not only genuine but even outstanding. The portraits are especially well represented and seem, characteristically, to have been more in the favor of the public than the figure compositions. Of particular interest is the earliest known painting by Rubens, the miniature-like *Portrait of a Goldsmith* made in 1597 before he went to Italy, formerly in a private collection in Newark. From the early period we have two good examples, the very impressive *Portrait of a Gonzaga* (formerly Goldman Collection) and one of the shiny, almost too elegant portraits of *Brigida Spinola* which belongs to the group of these works made by Rubens during his sojourn in Genoa. It is a pity that another specialty of Rubens, his dramatic landscapes, is not very well represented in American collections. The two interesting landscape sketches in the Johnson Collection are only "Rubenesque." Really great masterpieces of Rubens, sparkling in the movement of form and color, such as the *Battle on the Bridge*, the *Bacchanal with the Drunken Silenus*, or the *Dance of the Peasants* were, it seems, no longer available for the American market. Instead of acquiring large and often rather conventional paintings by, or connected with, Rubens, collectors might have looked for the *modelli* that Rubens painted in smaller size to show the composition of the larger picture he planned and which are in themselves often of great beauty, although of course not as spectacular. The wonderful sketches and drawings by Rubens, of which this book gives many examples, are more widely collected.

There would certainly be reason to write a book on, or make a catalogue raisonné of, the Rubens paintings in the Prado, in Vienna or Munich (as Ludwig Burchard once did for the Munich pictures, in the very

modest form of an excellent article). I feel less certain that this is equally true of the paintings by Rubens in American collections. Their quality is not so outstanding as to attract special attention nor are the historical or spiritual connections between them such as to make them significant as a group. On the other hand, from the point of view of research on Rubens, there can be no doubt that a service has been done by the assembling of this material.

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AGNES ADDISON GILCHRIST, *William Strickland, Architect and Engineer, 1788-1845*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. 163 pages, 50 plates. $10.00.

William Strickland was the pupil of whom Latrobe was most fond, yet also the one who most aroused his anger and whom he finally fired, though always afterward he preserved for him a continuing admiration and affection. It is easy to see why this was so, for of all the architects of his time Strickland seems the most ebullient, the most changeable, the most difficult to pigeonhole or classify. He was personally as mercurial as his buildings are varied; he is by turns radical, conservative, daring, and cautious. He was artist, engraver, scene designer and painter, an engineer of wide curiosities, and an architect with large ideas. By turns he was successful and struggling, and his architectural work varies from the exquisite perfection of the Philadelphia Exchange to the banality of the University of Pennsylvania. It is significant that in his very earliest buildings he seems to be trying to leap out of the bounds of fashion, of what was "being done"—he produces the Masonic Hall in an awkward kind of Gothic crowned with a high wooden spire instead of the ubiquitous cupola. His career as engineer is a queer tangent to his career as architect and perhaps even more strikingly successful—though, true to his own whirlagig temperament, he seems to have completely abandoned it in his later life.

A monograph on this extraordinary man has at last appeared. Admirably documented and richly illustrated, Mrs. Gilchrist's work offers the reader an excellent opportunity to study Strickland's architecture, though his engineering work, perhaps perforce, is largely passed over. This is not so serious a lack as might appear, for Strickland's two great engineering reports on canals and railroads in England and on the engineering works in the United States (*Report on Canals, Railways, Roads and Other Subjects Made to the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Internal Improvements*, Philadelphia, Carey & Lea, 1826, and *Public Works in the United States*, edited by William Strickland, Edward H. Gill, and Henry R. Campbell, London, Weale, 1841) are fairly widely available. It is signifi-

cant of his soundness as an engineer that the Delaware Bay breakwater (as Mrs. Gilchrist notes) is still in use —enlarged, to be sure, but sound and strong after a century of battering by Atlantic storms. And there is still another reason why this lack is unimportant: the fact that the two careers seem so entirely separate. Except in the Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia, the Naval Asylum there, and the Tennessee Capitol, important structural problems occur but seldom in his work; the greater part of it is simply conventional in its construction and in its use of materials, so that the elaborate vaulting and the use of metal in those three buildings seem for him almost exceptional and the brilliance of the effects produced there all the more remarkable.

This extraordinary variation in the quality of Strickland's work is itself characteristic of what seems one of his major qualities: an unusual sensitiveness to the intellectual and emotional currents that were flowing by him. Hardly a fashion or an impulse arises but he is trying to give it architectural expression; Gothic, Egyptian, Oriental, Greek, Italianate all stream from his pencil. Each type of expression is attacked with perhaps more picturesque enthusiasm than critical acumen. And these temporary aesthetic enthusiasms sometimes blinded him to any questions of structural logic or even common sense—as witness the heaven-scaling spire of Masonic Hall rising so strangely from the masonry building below; or, still more, the tin columns and painted perspectives of his Egyptian Presbyterian Church in Nashville.

But if the depths are profound, the masterpieces are high indeed. In works like the Exchange and the Naval Asylum in Philadelphia, the Governor's House at the Naval Base there, the Tennessee Capitol, and—to a lesser extent—the Mints of Philadelphia and New Orleans, all of Strickland's many powers seem suddenly to integrate, to work as one. The originalities (like the broad proportions of the flanks of the Exchange or the stairs and "rotunda" of the Nashville Capitol) seem suddenly to become integral parts of the whole. There is a complete harmony, a complete ease in the handling of all complications, and the buildings sing. It was by these that Strickland's reputation was formed, and it is by them that his continuing fame is assured.

Mrs. Gilchrist has designed her book with something of Strickland's own originality. She begins with a biographical chapter, an admirable introduction to his mercurial and impetuous personality. One is struck with how young he was when he was working and studying with Latrobe—fourteen when he began his apprenticeship and not yet seventeen when Latrobe, irked by his independence, let him go. Yet in those two years he gathered the elements of his future profession, and Latrobe, who always loved him, had him working on important drawings for the United States Capitol and admired his quick skill as a draftsman. He was with his father in New York in 1807 and 1808; back in Philadelphia in that year he received his first architectural commission (at twenty!)—the Masonic Hall. In 1812 he married, and during the next few years he

supported himself as a surveyor, a painter, a theatrical designer, and an engraver. In 1814 he was one of three chosen to survey the locality of Philadelphia in connection with plans for its defense; it was his work here that was the foundation of his later engineering practice. After the war he was an illustrator; he probably wrote and edited a drawing book, *The Art of Landscape Painting*. Then there came his second important architectural commission—the Swedenborgian Church. This, like the earlier Masonic Hall, was anything but Greek; one may call it "Oriental," but it far outdistanced its predecessor in compositional skill; it is integrated, with mass and detail held in adequate balance. From that time on, both his work and his fame grew continuously.

In 1822-1823 Strickland was engaged by a committee of the American Philosophical Society to make a report on possible routes for the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. This report, in addition to the fact that he was an early member of the Franklin Institute (where he gave a course of lectures on architecture in 1824-1825), gained him his most important engineering opportunity. He was picked to go to England as a special agent for the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Internal Improvements to study English engineering practices. He was abroad for nine months in 1825, and in 1826 his famous *Reports on Canals, Railways, and Roads* was issued. This publication was of tremendous value to the development of engineering in the United States; it brought to the largely self-trained and empirical engineers of the country definite and graphic documents on the best English practices, evaluated by a keen and imaginative mind, and its contribution to the immense American developments of the following two decades was tremendous.

For the next few years Strickland's practice was wide in both architecture and engineering. He was successful, much beloved by his contemporaries, apparently as great a figure in the social life of Philadelphia as in its intellectual coteries. It is noteworthy, too, that he took his family on a six-months tour in Europe in 1838. The inspiration this furnished him was precious, for eight years later he published in Nashville eleven interesting articles on Rome and Roman architecture which Mrs. Gilchrist hopes to republish at an early date.

In 1841 there appeared in London *Public Works of the United States*, of which Strickland was one of the editors. In its beautiful plates—a few of which surely merited reproduction in the present work—the enormous recent advances in American engineering were superbly documented.

Then followed a period of unexplainable joblessness. Scheme after scheme was undertaken and came to naught. In 1844, however, the Tennessee Capitol was offered to him, and in 1845 his plans were finally adopted and he moved to Nashville to undertake its superintendence. There he spent the last years of his life, till his death in 1854.

Mrs. Gilchrist devotes the second chapter to an analysis of Strickland's character, climaxed by a brief account (but the best now generally available) of the

American Institute of Architects, founded in 1835. The third chapter deals with Strickland's architectural style. These three chapters occupy but 42 pages; they are then followed by what for many students must be the most valuable part of the book: the 90 pages of appendices. Appendix A is a "Chronologic, Bibliographic, and Descriptive Catalogue" of the work Strickland did; Appendix B a valuable catalogue of the Strickland portfolio of drawings preserved in the Tennessee State Library; Appendix C a list of his known oils, water colors, drawings, and prints, with notes as to where they are available; Appendix D a bibliography of Strickland's writings; Appendix E a list of portraits of the Strickland family; and Appendix F a note on the Strickland family. These are followed by 50 pages of illustrations.

Appendix A, the chronological list of buildings, is an invaluable record. It sets out tersely, yet with all the necessary detail, all that it known of what buildings he designed, with brief descriptions of each and copious bibliographical notes. It is the result of monumental research; only fellow historians can realize and appreciate the work that produced it.

Yet one item in these notes—the "style" of each building—coupled with much of the third chapter on Strickland's architectural style, leaves this reviewer doubtful of the possibility of making any such hard-and-fast style discriminations as those Mrs. Gilchrist attempts. Style is the result of a personality and an intellectual climate. Into any architect's work go many aesthetic ingredients; out of them the crucible of his creative genius evolves a new expression. To try to give fixed names like "Georgian" or "Italianate, early Florentine Renaissance with cornice, arched hood moldings and curved tracery in the windows" to any Strickland work calls up no clear vision and helps the reader little to any true understanding of the buildings. And, when I read of the Second Bank of the United States (p. 57), "The window arrangement in the side walls is late Georgian. . . . The introduction of the oval vestibule is Georgian. The other rooms, square or rectangular, are utilitarian in design," frankly I am lost. Is the implication that "Georgian" and "utilitarian" are opposite qualities, that one must choose between them? Is architecture a pastiche of bits and pieces of this, that, or the other "style"? In any great building—and this building has elements of greatness—all forms and details spring from *one* conception in which use, construction, and visible form are integral. And certainly Strickland when he was designing had no sense of using "Georgian" windows or "Georgian" oval vestibules; he was simply designing windows for a definite purpose and a vestibule that was structurally, practically, and aesthetically satisfactory.

This whole conception of style—particularly when the style denominations are as vague and yet as arbitrary as these—seems to me to be a wholly unnecessary intrusion into these valuable summaries; furthermore, it serves to fog rather than to clarify the picture. Strickland's reaction to *all* the surrounding cultural pressures formed his style; all his buildings are American expres-sions and Strickland expressions. It is this that should be stressed; for in Strickland's work all the virtues and all the dangers and vices of the early nineteenth century may be seen, perhaps more clearly than in the case of most of his contemporaries, just because of his impulsive sensitivity to the times in which he worked. And the rich series of illustrations makes this clear.

There is an excellent index, and the whole book forms a major contribution to the history of nineteenth century architecture in the United States. It is good to know that Mrs. Gilchrist is planning to republish the articles Strickland wrote from Rome; these should be an interesting complement to this study of the works he designed.

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WALTER H. KILHAM, *Boston after Bulfinch, An Account of Its Architecture, 1800-1900*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1946. 129 pages, 32 plates. $3.50.

This is not the type of book generally reviewed in THE ART BULLETIN but Mr. Kilham's volume does deserve mention. He has written a modern counterpart of those informative local histories which ever since the Renaissance have made available to scholars a wealth of first-hand antiquarian information. The contemporary student who wishes to come to grips with the major problems of nineteenth century American art will find this book inadequate. Yet in the future it is bound to be an important source because it represents the informed opinion of a local architect. Moreover, being written for the layman, it can be useful in our own day.

Mr. Kilham tells the story of building in Boston from Bulfinch to Cram. Brief though it is, his book is remarkable for its breadth of scope. He discusses the real estate development of the city and mentions all categories of building: Public Works, warehouses, churches, residences. Several examples of each type are included among the charming and well-chosen illustrations. He places major emphasis on monumental public buildings, which are considered in terms of their exterior elevations. Only one interior is reproduced and the book contains but three plans and a single cross section.

Mr. Kilham is disarmingly unpretentious. He is not concerned with the meaning of various revivals. To him, they are but so many fashions, as inconsequential in themselves as the changing forms of women's hats. Taking them so lightly, he pays little attention to their origin. Occasionally he will make a few remarks of a general historical nature as, for example, on the background of the Gothic Revival. These are misleading and reveal a complete unconcern with recent research on nineteenth century architecture. For the basic facts about local architects he depends upon the careful articles in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. He him-

self contributes a wealth of lore culled over many years from newspapers, magazines, and personal reminiscences which give the book a richness and variety which no conventional scholarly survey could achieve.

The lasting value of *Boston after Bulfinch* is due to the author's sound grasp of basic problems. " 'The Victorian Age,' it is often called with a patronizing smile, but let it be remembered that these architects, Bulfinch, Parris, Willard and Rogers, Bryant, Bradlee and Gilman, Richardson, Cummings, McKim and the rest changed a tight little sea port into a handsome, stately and dignified city." Mr. Kilham has a vivid sense of the drama this change involved. Moreover, when discussing the individual monuments, he reveals a taste that is both catholic and unconventional. The reader is never in any doubt as to the author's opinions on a building, but it is hard to know which is more admirable, the perception with which he praises structures that he respects or his fairness in dealing with those he finds unsympathetic.

While the ultimate importance of this book depends upon the author's grasp and understanding, his remarkable enthusiasm gives it an immediate significance. Mr. Kilham has a straightforward enjoyment of building, and his vivid terse style communicates this to the reader. He belongs to a generation among whom a popular concern with architecture and a cultivated appreciation of it was much more widespread than at present. This book bears witness to that fact and is convincing proof of how fascinating the study of local architecture can be to layman and professional alike. As such it may serve to reawaken a wider interest in the buildings of the past and create a more general awareness of the architectural responsibilities of the present.

"Boston under the Victorians became a handsome town in its own way. Its twentieth-century architects have fifty years left to show what they will make of it before the century ends. May they do as well as their predecessors." If our contemporary architects succeed, it will be in large measure owing to the type of public interest and support which this book seeks to arouse. Whatever they achieve, they will be lucky if, in 2051, their efforts are recorded by as charming and charitable a chronicler as Walter Kilham.

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DENIS MAHON, *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*, London, The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1947. 360 pages, 49 plates. 50 shillings.

To read carefully Mr. Denis Mahon's *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory* is to learn much about both from a scholar deeply versed in the period and from a discriminating connoisseur and collector of Seicento painting. The form of the book is novel, having no beginning, middle, and end in the classic sense; instead, the argument unfolds from subject to subject by a kind of organic process as the author follows the vital

and heavily freighted track of his investigation. Mr. Mahon need not, however, have been concerned, as he confesses to be in his Introduction, about any serious discomfort which the unusual form of the book might cause the reader. For convenient pauses along the way divide the main text into four more or less self-contained essays, each interesting in itself, yet related to the others. And if one should, in the end, not find to his taste a certain unconfined and unrounded character in the book's form, and a tendency to be prolix in analysis and argument, this is no criticism of the content which, though one may differ with the author on certain counts, is rich and stimulating throughout.

An expert on Guercino and the Italian Seicento, Mr. Mahon devotes the first section of the *Studies* to an analysis and explanation of the striking differences in style between Guercino's early and late paintings. The text, so to speak, for this discussion, and indeed for the whole volume, is a statement in the Introduction (page 3) concerning the Seicento: "Though the prevailing artistic language was the baroque, the predominant trend in art theory was strongly accentuated in the opposite direction, towards the classic." Guercino's early dark manner, richly pictorial and luministic, informal in composition, and with dramatic emphasis on the momentary in human action, had long been associated with the influence of Caravaggio. But Mr. Mahon is on the side of modern critical opinion: he admits "incidental Caravaggesque graftings," but finds with good reason that Guercino's "*luminismo*," impressionistic rather than constructive, is essentially the offspring of the predominant tradition of North Italy, "loose, colouristic, atmospheric." Guercino arrived in Rome from Bologna in 1621 fully accomplished in his early and very Baroque style. Immediately this manner, as Mr. Mahon demonstrates, begins to change, though very gradually at first, in the direction of the calm and static and classicizing style of his later years. Generally speaking, the painterly rendering of form in space, free asymmetry, and spontaneous and lively drama of the early style, yield to linear emphasis, contrived and formal symmetry and, one may add, a pedestrian, didactic and rather dull approach to subject matter. Mr. Mahon's analysis of this change of style is convincing and often subtle. But it is in suggesting the basic reasons for the change that he makes his most original and important contribution.

He is inclined, for good stylistic and chronological reasons, to discount Scanelli's inference that the formation of Guercino's late style, which partakes of the *chiarezza* adopted by several important painters of the time, owed much to the clear color and lighting of Guido Reni's last phase. And he finds that the primary reason for his gradual abandonment of the early manner was his initiation during his Roman sojourn into the classic theory of art then current among the *letterati*. In fact, the theory found its chief exponent in Monsignore Giovanni Battista Agucchi, Secretary of State from 1621 to 1623—these were precisely Guercino's years in Rome—to Pope Gregory XV who, as Archbishop of Bologna, had been one of Guercino's

principal patrons. Agucchi, the friend and admirer of Annibale Carracci and Domenichino, was the author of a *Trattato della pittura*, written probably between 1607 and 1615. This was never published as a whole but Mr. Mahon has discovered an important fragment inserted into the Preface to the first edition (1646) of Simon Guillain's etchings after Annibale Carracci's drawings of Bolognese artisans.[1] Now Agucchi, Mr. Mahon argues, in all probability met and influenced Guercino when he was painting for Pope Gregory XV. As an exponent of the theory of art based ultimately on Aristotle's *Poetics*, he probably found Guercino's painterly style with its expressive light and shadow, its homely types, and its momentary drama, lacking in those qualities of high seriousness, decorum, and grace which should attend the ideal imitation of nature. It is also likely, Mr. Mahon thinks, that Agucchi would have suggested to Guercino that he might improve his somewhat provincial style by studying the paintings of his friend, the classicistic Domenichino, then architect of the Papal Palace. And he finds good evidence of Domenichino's influence on Guercino during his stay in Rome and for a short time afterwards, notably in the famous *Santa Petronilla* of the Capitoline Museum, which he regards as the real turning point towards a more classic style. For the composition of this painting Agucchi himself may have made suggestions that resulted in its having certain refinements it would not have had otherwise.

The hypothesis of Agucchi's influence on Guercino is both ingenious and reasonable. Mr. Mahon argues his case plausibly and with supporting documentation, that here, as throughout the whole book, is admirably rich and complete. Particularly illuminating is the light he throws upon the intellectual milieu in high ecclesiastical and cultural circles in Rome during the early decades of the seventeenth century and the way in which artistic opinion and taste in a circle like Agucchi's might, and in Guercino's case probably did, affect a painter with a markedly expressive type of genius. Happily Mr. Mahon's own opinion of Guercino's early work is not the presumptive opinion of Agucchi; rather he agrees with Guercino's friend Scanelli who preferred Correggio to Raphael and, by the same tokens, the young Guercino to the old. He recalls (p. 52) that Scanelli quotes Guercino to the effect that Correggio "would have lost his instinctive touch" had he studied uncongenial styles (the *prima scuola*, or Roman-Florentine school, is specifically mentioned), and this, as Mr. Mahon says, would indicate that Guercino "had his own case and his visit to Rome under Papal patronage very much in mind." Guercino himself, then, must have realized that his late pictures, painted according to classic standards and conforming to the taste of a public governed by those standards, were uninspired and inferior compared to the vividly pictorial work of his

early dark manner when his genius was untrammeled by the precepts of classicism. This being the case, it is indeed interesting to speculate, as Mr. Mahon would like to do, on the nature of the conversation between Guercino and Dufresnoy in the middle 'fifties when, as Félibien relates, the Frenchman visited the Italian and asked his opinion of his *De arte graphica*, a poetical summary of classic doctrine which was probably composed in the decade of the 1640's, though not published until 1668. Guercino would probably have found the doctrine the theoretical counterpart of his late style; while Dufresnoy, had he seen it, as indeed he may have done, would no doubt, as Mr. Mahon says, have completely approved Guercino's late Ferrara *Purification* (1654) as conforming to classic standards. But in the reviewer's opinion, it is not unlikely that what Guercino, remembering his own case, really liked in the poem was less the classic doctrine than Dufresnoy's praise of Correggio and Titian, his caution against stifling one's genius under a "jumbled heap of rules" and his advice to the painter never to paint in a manner uncongenial to his natural gifts.[2] As for Dufresnoy, who was a man of Horatian good sense and had, with his orthodox classicism, a respect for the nature of genius, he might well have given his *nihil obstat* to the classical Ferrara picture, but there is good reason to believe that he would actually have preferred the spontaneous life and pictorial brilliance of Guercino's early paintings to the comparative self-consciousness and dryness of the late.

Agucchi's theory of art and its place in the history of artistic theory is the subject of the second part of the book. Malvasia's remark that the Monsignore composed it "colla scorta, e consiglio prima di Annibale, poi del suo Domenichino" should not be taken to mean, Mr. Mahon reasonably argues, that the painters in their association with Agucchi made any serious theoretical contribution to the treatise, for they were primarily executants, interested, certainly, in artistic theory, but not given to formulation. Mr. Mahon was a clever detective to discover the fragment of Agucchi's *Trattato della pittura* in the Preface to Guillain's etchings. Preface and fragment had escaped the omnivorous eye of Schlosser and Mr. Mahon is to be congratulated on having brought to the attention of scholars a document which, if its theoretical content is slight, is nonetheless doubly interesting as an example of the kind of thinking on artistic matters that was current among the *letterati* in Rome in the early Seicento and as an anticipation of the theoretical position of Bellori some fifty years later. Bellori has hitherto been considered by scholars to have been something of a phenomenon who suddenly appeared in 1664 when he gave his lecture *Idea* before the Academy of St. Luke as the full-armed exponent of seventeenth century classicism. Zuccaro's *Idea* published in 1607 had been the swan song of the subjective mysticism of Mannerist theory and between that date

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1. The Preface was written under the name of Giovanni Atanasio Mosini. Mr. Mahon has found new evidence (see p. 240 n. 14, and p. 272 n. 55) to support the view that this name is a pseudonym for Monsignore Giovanni Antonio Mas-

sani, a close friend of Agucchi. In the Preface (p. 239), the inserted section is said to have been written by Gratiadio Machati, a pseudonym for Agucchi.

2. See lines 529-535, 32-33, 455-463.

and 1664 no really significant theoretical treatise had appeared. Now, in the light of Mr. Mahon's discovery, we know that cultivated men in Rome at the beginning of the Baroque period were beginning to think of art not as the imitation of ideas existing a priori in the artist's mind but, again, in the Renaissance sense, as the ideal imitation of nature herself.

Mr. Mahon has reprinted the Preface containing the Agucchi fragment in an appendix with excellent annotations. The purely theoretical part of the fragment is very short, being confined to a few paragraphs inserted into a kind of résumé of the evolution of ancient painting based on Pliny. Agucchi distinguishes between two main classes of painters: those who, neglecting ideal beauty, imitate nature exactly as she appears to the eye (these painters appeal only to vulgar taste and receive vulgar acclaim) and those superior painters who, raising their minds to a contemplation of Idea, in Aristotle's phrase represent things not as they are but as they ought to be. And Idea for Agucchi is an image of embellished nature which the painter forms in his mind by the empirical process of selecting the best from many objects. Having briefly stated his idealist view, Agucchi shortly thereafter salutes the antique as the cause of the rebirth of painting after the dark ages and as the criterion of perfection for modern artists. Then, after listing the chief sixteenth century schools with their most important masters, he regrets the decline of painting under the Mannerists and this brings him to the main section of the *Trattato*—an account of the Carracci whom he sees as the renovators of art in its season of decline. Of the three he considers Annibale the most gifted and, since he was a close student of Raphael and the antique, the first imitator of ideal nature since the great days of the High Renaissance in Rome.

Agucchi's theory of ideal imitation is at least as old as Aristotle and, although sometimes hesitantly expressed by Renaissance writers on art, had been congenial to the Italian mind from Alberti to Dolce. Agucchi adds nothing to the basic theory although his brief statement thereof with its curious and uncritical mixture of Neo-Platonic and Aristotelian phrases shows him, as Mr. Mahon says, still influenced by Mannerist thought at the very moment that he moves fundamentally away from it. Actually, the reviewer might suggest, he preserves more than a hint of the Neo-Platonic doctrine of the resistance of brute matter to the shaping power of ideal form and of the complementary doctrine that it is the artist's function to create ideal beauty where nature "through ineptness in the substance found," as Edmund Spenser wrote, has failed. But the artist's method of procedure for Agucchi is not, as it was for Lomazzo, the imitation of the immutable Platonic Idea of beauty existing a priori in the mind (though so it might at first appear from Agucchi's Neo-Platonic phraseology) but, as Mr. Mahon points out, of an Idea which is based upon the empirical selection of many excellences from nature. Thus Agucchi is the first writer in the Baroque century, after the Platonic interlude of Mannerist theory, to reaffirm the ancient

doctrine that the Idea which superior artists must imitate has its source in nature. But the Idea is a criterion of perfection and Agucchi is most original in viewing the history of art during the Cinquecento in the light of an ideal standard. Raphael, by studying the faultless antique, had discovered the Idea of sovereign beauty which exists in nature only in scattered fragments. Later in the century the Mannerists wandered from the "buona strada che all' ottimo ne conduce." Then with the Carracci the pendulum swings back to Idea: in Rome Agostino and Annibale, like Raphael, follow the antique and Annibale attains particular eminence, creating a new beauty by combining the drawing of Rome with the coloring of Lombardy. In the course of the argument, Agucchi, following Aristotle's manner of distinguishing between different types of painters, makes the interesting statement that Raphael represents men as better than they are, Bassano as worse, while Caravaggio, though an excellent colorist, is among that large number of modern painters who have forsaken the Idea of the beautiful to copy the exact appearance of things. This is the first derogatory criticism in Seicento writing of Caravaggio as a naturalist and it precedes the penultimate paragraph of the *Trattato* in which Annibale Carracci is lauded as the very *beau idéal* of the historical painter.

In most of this, as Mr. Mahon has clearly demonstrated, Agucchi is Bellori's forerunner. In his residual Neo-Platonism, in the empirical emphasis which he gives to the theory of imitation, in his laudatory view of the historical position of Annibale Carracci and in his uncomplimentary estimate of Caravaggio, he clearly anticipates the later writer who is also indebted to him, as Mr. Mahon shows, for several turns of phrase. Agucchi thus provides a kind of rudimentary scaffolding upon which Bellori was to build, in part, at least, the more complete structure of his own thought. And Mr. Mahon is entirely right in concluding (p. 143) that "he was, in some sense, through Bellori, part originator of much of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century classic-idealist doctrine." In this section of the book Mr. Mahon also assembles, with most interesting comment, the evidence bearing upon the association of Agucchi with Annibale Carracci and particularly with Domenichino, who was his close friend. But it was the combination of Agucchi, the *letterato* and classic theorist, and Domenichino, the classicistic painter, which was evidently, if Mr. Mahon's surmises are correct, too much for Guercino.

Having done with Agucchi as a theorist, Mr. Mahon turns in Part III to the theory of art in the Academy of St. Luke. Why, he asks, should we not attribute the kind of influence responsible for Guercino's change of style at least in part to the Academy? The clear answer to this question, which he finds in the illuminating chronicle of the Academy's early years written by its secretary, Romano Alberti, is that there was not enough theory there to exert such an influence. It is true that Federico Zuccaro, who virtually founded the Academy in 1593, was a tremendous theorist and tried to introduce theoretical lectures into its curriculum. But his

fellow academicians who were supposed to give most of the lectures were primarily interested in the practice of painting and fought shy of the program which, to the discomfiture of Zuccaro and the secretary, petered out. In view of this, Mr. Mahon argues, it would appear most unlikely that there was any coherent opposition among the academicians to Caravaggio during his lifetime. He accepts Longhi's view that the letters published as Zuccaro's by Ticozzi in 1822 are falsifications —in one of these Caravaggio is criticized for the extravagance of his character and painting—and concludes (pp. 180-181) that although "Zuccaro's personal views . . . can quite possibly have been unsympathetic to Caravaggio and his work, . . . there is no evidence of any stronger antagonism between them." It is Agucchi, therefore, not Zuccaro or the Academy, who, viewing art under the aegis of Idea and Aristotle, was the first serious critic of Caravaggio and of naturalistic tendencies in general. And it was not until the second half of the century that the classic-idealist theory of art became the professed creed of the Academies whether Italian or French.

Mr. Mahon's account of the Academy of St. Luke's indifference to Zuccaro's theoretical ardor is illuminating and entertaining and he has fresh and interesting things to say about Zuccaro himself. His conclusions concerning Caravaggio are to some degree persuasive, though here he may overstate his case, and his discussion of the term "academic" seems to the present writer at some points to becloud rather than clarify the question of early Seicento opinion of Caravaggio. In all probability there was, as he says, no academic criticism of Caravaggio in the sense that this criticism had its definite and demonstrable source in the body of the Academy of St. Luke itself. Hence one should not, he reasonably argues (p. 158), "project back into the early Seicento that antithesis which becomes familiar enough in later periods: the 'academy' versus the 'advanced' artist." But there was in the sixteenth and in the early and middle seventeenth centuries in Italy a view of art which was the common view of learned and cultivated men whether artists or not, which was at length piously adopted by the Academies, and which has conveniently and reasonably been labeled as academic. Based largely on the aesthetic (to a considerable degree, the poetic) of antiquity, this view emphasized ideal beauty for the attainment of which it encouraged the study of great models from the past, and traditional subject matter which could be supplied by the poets and historians past or present; it tended to measure the excellence of painting by the degree to which it resembled the sister art of poetry and even the excellence of the painter by his ability to deploy accurately and decorously his store of learning; and in consequence of all this it was overconcerned with the appeal of painting to the mind at the expense of the eye. Now, if the reviewer is correct, Mr. Mahon fully recognizes this academic view of painting when he writes (pp. 158-159) "that any attempt at the *reasoned* interpretation in words of the art of painting had at this time to adapt itself to a not very flexible literary framework.

It was, so to speak, a somewhat dependent poor relation of 'literature.' Whether or not it made its mark was to a certain degree contingent on the amount of learning and erudition displayed; hence tradition and precedent played a considerable part. . . . In these circumstances a reasoned and 'learned' defence of an unconventional art such as that of Caravaggio was not so easily formulated." And he adds in a footnote (p. 159) that the theory of art produced no radical critic comparable to Castelvetro in literary criticism.

Now, in the sense that they had strong literary orientations, Mr. Mahon believes that both Zuccaro and Bellori might be described as academic, but he is at the same time disturbed by the fact that, although both were members of the Academy of St. Luke, their theories of art were very different; also, if the term academic applied to the art of the second half of the Seicento and afterwards has a classical connotation, it has no such connotation when applied to Zuccaro and the Mannerists. The present writer therefore understands Mr. Mahon to mean (he hopes correctly) that if it is hazardous to project back into the early Seicento the familiar antithesis of later periods: the academy versus the advanced artist, it is also hazardous to use the term academic, the meaning of which he sees as variable, to sum up an early Seicento attitude hostile to Caravaggio. But here Mr. Mahon's *caveat* is surely supersubtle. For in their learning, their dependence on the written word (whether literature or philosophy), their awareness of tradition, their concern with the content of painting as something to be apprehended by the mind, both Bellori and Zuccaro can, without loss of conscience, be considered academic theorists. And their doctrines of ideal imitation, though in an important sense different, were equally bound to be strongly antipathetic to naturalism and therefore to Caravaggio. Not only are Bellori and Zuccaro academic in a well-established sense of the term, but so also and by the same tokens was Agucchi, writing in the first and second decades of the Seicento and, on the heels of Mannerism, outlining a classic-idealist theory of imitation which anticipates Bellori by fifty years. And Agucchi's theory of art, in essence traditionally Italian, and having a particular orientation that derives directly from the sixteenth century enthusiasm for Aristotle's *Poetics*, was also, one may believe, congenial to those cultivated friends on whose relations with Agucchi Mr. Mahon throws so much light, men like Angeloni, and Massani, not to mention Domenichino with whom Agucchi was actually living when he wrote the *Trattato*. The academic point of view was, then, an accepted and even prevailing point of view among critics and amateurs of art at the beginning of the century just as it was Bellori's at the middle and end. It had been the point of view of Ludovico Dolce in the mid-sixteenth century and essentially of Alberti, the humanist founder of academic theory, a century before that. And the two earlier theorists would have been antagonistic to Caravaggio for the same reasons as Agucchi and Bellori. As for Zuccaro, the dignity of his position, his established reputation, his character and his lofty

conception of the artist must have made him, as Fried-
laender has pointed out, antagonistic to the upstart
bohemian with his novel and vigorous realism which, at
the turn of the century, bade fair to conquer the field.[3]

Part IV has a provocative title: "The Construction
of a Legend: The Origins of the Classic and Eclectic
Misinterpretations of the Carracci," and the reader will
not slumber over its contents. In the opening pages the
author returns to the important question: "What . . . is
the precise character of the relationship between the
classic-idealist theory and actual works of art?" (p.
195) and he is particularly concerned with the later
work of Annibale Carracci. In Part I he had already
discussed this question in the case of Guercino.

He comes to the conclusion that although the classic-
idealist theory contributed in a general way to the
formation of the grand manner in painting it never
seems, being retrospective in character, "to have been
the driving force behind any important artistic move-
ment" (p. 196). Among the few painters he lists
whose style might be said to correspond with the theory
(the late Annibale and an early phase of Domenichino
are included), the mature Poussin is the only one of
really capital rank. And of Poussin one might add that
he is the only painter who in his retrospective classicism
and high seriousness is the complete embodiment of the
theory and at the same time through aesthetic and
moral distinction transcends the fettering limitations of
its attendant rules. But since the painterly Baroque, not
the classicistic style, dominated the Seicento, Mr.
Mahon finds in the theory "an interpretation of art
. . . rather than an active principle animating it" (p.
197).

Now Agucchi's interpretaton of Annibale has, Mr.
Mahon thinks, a serious fault: he was not unaware of
Annibale's interest in nature, but because he wished
to make the difference clear between Annibale and
Caravaggio, he emphasized Annibale's classicism at
the expense of his naturalism, whereas Bellori, who
later developed this point of view, completed the distor-
tion by placing extreme emphasis on Caravaggio's
naturalism to the neglect of his basic structural clas-
sicism. But actually, Mr. Mahon insists, however dif-
ferent they may appear to be superficially, Annibale
and Caravaggio have in common a fundamental in-
terest in nature and Annibale is far more painterly and
Baroque, than, *pace* Agucchi and Bellori, he has had
credit for being. And apropos of this Mr. Mahon writes
some interesting criticism of the Farnese Gallery in
which he judges that its essentially Baroque character is
found precisely in a union of Bellori's two bugbears,
naturalismo and *fantasia*. Now in all of this Mr. Mahon
speaks a certain measure of truth and it is refreshing
to read someone who will take nothing for granted
from the traditionalists. But it must still be said in de-
fense of Agucchi and Bellori that, in spite of some over-

emphasis, they are essentially right: that Annibale
Carracci and Caravaggio remain far more different
than they are alike, that the Farnese Gallery has a semi-
archaeological and patently eclectic character, essential
to its classicism, which is nowhere in Caravaggio, and
that Caravaggio's naturalism has a drastic and revolu-
tionary character that has no real parallel in Annibale's
painting.[4] When, therefore, Mr. Mahon uses a phrase
as strong as "the classic misinterpretation of the Car-
racci," he tends in his turn, in the reviewer's opinion, to
be guilty of overemphasis; and this is also true of his
discussion of the eclectic misinterpretation of the Car-
racci to which he devotes the greater part of this con-
cluding section of the book.

He maintains that there is no proof that the Carracci
themselves championed or taught a theory of selection
and he is convinced, after long study, that the chief
foundation of this notion is the famous sonnet advocat-
ing such a theory that was published by Malvasia in
1678 as Agostino Carracci's and accepted as his for
two centuries. And in a highly interesting contribution
to the history of artistic criticism he traces the fortunes
of the term eclectic, chiefly as applied to the Carracci,
from its first appearance in 1763 to the late nineteenth
century. No less a man than Winckelmann, he finds,
was not only the first writer to introduce the word into
the terminology of artistic criticism, but also the first to
endow it, in writing of the Carracci, with the un-
favorable sense of "decadent imitation," whence ulti-
mately its highly pejorative connotations both for their
supposed theory and their practice in such nineteenth
century writers as Franz Kugler and Charles Blanc.

The reviewer is inclined to disagree with what he
understands to be Mr. Mahon's estimate of Winckel-
mann's view of the Carracci. As Mr. Mahon points
out, Winckelmann in Book VIII, Chapter 3, Par. 2, of
his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764), com-
pares the late classical artists to the eclectic philosophers
to their mutual disadvantage as uncreative imitators
(*Nachahmer*) and in a later passage (Par. 18) in the
same chapter draws a parallel between the rise and
decline of ancient and modern art in which the Carracci
play the part of the latter-day *Nachahmer*.[5] So far, so
good. But now Mr. Mahon, after noting Winckel-
mann's purely classic taste, states (p. 214) that he
"accepts the interpretation of Annibale as the heir of
High Renaissance classicism (this is an inheritance from
Bellori), but does not consider him to be altogether
successful in that role; we may guess that he regarded
as impurities what we would now consider the baroque
characteristics in Annibale's work. . . . To the label of
conservative classicism was added the new and deroga-
tory one of decadent imitation. . . ." Mr. Mahon has
Winckelmann's own authority for the statement that
Annibale Carracci revived the spirit of the High Renais-

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3. "Zuccari and Caravaggio," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, Series
6, XXXIII, 1948, pp. 27-36.

4. This is not, of course, to deny that in his drawings
Annibale is often an observer of street life and humble types.
As a painter, with one or two possible exceptions, he did not

deal with this kind of subject matter. In the vast majority of
his paintings, despite an element of naturalism, he remains
essentially a traditionalist compared with Caravaggio.

5. These passages are quoted on pp. 213-214 nn. 38 and 39.

sance[6] and he is certainly right in supposing that, in Winckelmann's view, he did not do so perfectly. But when Mr. Mahon states that Winckelmann was responsible for the "new and derogatory [label] of decadent imitation," he gives the wrong impression of Winckelmann's criticism. In the first place, Mr. Mahon has not noted the context in which Winckelmann compares the late classical artists with the eclectic philosophers. For in the preceding paragraph,[7] Winckelmann had said that ancient art had earlier reached such perfection of beauty that it was impossible to advance further without error (he means impairment of perfect outline) but, since in the operations of nature no static point is ever reached, it was necessary that art, since it could no longer advance, must decline; and the way of decline was the way of imitation (not, one should note, of error!). Imitation, therefore, to Winckelmann was not the worst that might have happened to ancient art. It was something better than that, a kind of predestined *pis-aller*, which was, however, by no means worthy of condemnation and definitely preferable to the alternative of impairing the beauty that the previous style had attained.[8] And in the later passage dealing with the Carracci, what he actually says is that ancient and modern art are alike in respect to their periods, but with the difference that modern art did not decline gradually, as with the Greeks, but, after reaching its highest point in Raphael and Michelangelo, declined suddenly:[9] an intervening period of bad taste (*übler Geschmack*) was followed by *Nachahmer* (the Carracci and their school, with their followers, up to the time of Carlo Maratta). Now in this passage the period of bad taste is contrasted with the succeeding and, by implication, better style of the imitators, and this sequence of styles corresponds to what the ancient se-

quence would have been, had the Greeks also fallen into a period of error, happily avoided, before the style of the imitators began. But what is more important, Winckelmann's sequence of styles corresponds to the progress of art from the High Renaissance through the bad period of Mannerism to the new idealism of the Carracci, as told by Bellori in the famous beginning of his life of Annibale Carracci. And it is worth noting in this connection that Winckelmann's theory of ideal beauty was demonstrably influenced by Bellori's *Idea*, which Winckelmann acknowledged as his source in other respects.[10] If then his view of the ancient *Nachahmer* was by no means, as we have seen, entirely derogatory, his view of the Carracci cannot, in the reviewer's opinion, properly be called derogatory at all. In Annibale Carracci he saw the spirit of the High Renaissance revived after a period of bad taste. This was a positive contribution, something more, at least, than decadent imitation, even though he might have added that Annibale, like the late ancients, not only could not surpass his models in beauty but could not equal them.

It is not therefore enough to say, as Mr. Mahon does, that Winckelmann accepts Bellori's interpretation of Annibale as the heir of High Renaissance Classicism. More important is the fact that Winckelmann saw him in Bellori's historical perspective as reviving the spirit of the High Renaissance after the bad epoch of Mannerism. And if further evidence were needed to confirm this view, one might find it in a passage[11] from the *Abhandlung von der Faehigkeit der Empfindung des Schoenen in der Kunst*, a short work published in 1763, a year before the famous *Geschichte*. Mr. Mahon quotes a part of this passage (p. 213 n. 35) in which he notes the first use of the term eclectic and its application to the school of the Carracci. This, Winckelmann

6. See the passage quoted in note 40, p. 214, from the *Anmerkungen ueber die Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, Dresden, 1767.

7. *Geschichte*, Book VIII, Chap. 3, Par. 1: "Da nun die Verhaeltnisse und die Formen der Schoenheit von den Kuenstlern des Alterthums auf das Hoechste ausstudiret, und die Umrisse der Figuren so bestimmt waren, dass man ohne Fehler weder herausgehen, noch hineinlenken konnte, so war der Begriff der Schoenheit nicht hoeher zu treiben. Es musste also die Kunst, in welcher, wie in allen Wirkungen der Natur, kein fester Punct zu denken ist, da sie nicht weiter hinausgieng, zurueckgehen. Die Vorstellungen der Goetter und Helden waren in allen moeglichen Arten und Stellungen gebildet, und es wurde schwer, neue zu erdenken, wodurch also der Nachahmung der Weg geoeffnet wurde. Diese schraenket den Geist ein, und wenn es nicht moeglich schien, einen Praxiteles und Apelles zu uebertreffen, so wurde es schwer, dieselben zu erreichen, und der Nachahmer ist allezeit unter dem Nachgeahmten geblieben."

8. Winckelmann makes this perfectly clear in Book VIII, Chap. 3, Par. 14, where he says that it is to the credit of the ancients that they continued conscious of the grandeur of art until its downfall, that even indifferent works of the last period were made according to the principles of the great masters, and that the ancients were never taken in as the moderns have been by "die gezierte Zierlichkeit, eine erzwungene und uebel verstandene Gratie, die uebertriebene und verdrehte Gelenksamkeit"—in short by those mannered graces and distortions which he must have associated with what he calls in Par. 18 the period of *"uebler Geschmack,"* in other words the period of Mannerist art which was followed by the eclectic art of the

Carracci.

9. *op.cit.*, Book VIII, Chap. 3, Par. 18: "Das Schicksal der Kunst ueberhaupt in neuern Zeiten ist, in Absicht der Perioden, dem im Alterthume gleich: es sind ebenfalls vier Hauptveraenderungen in derselben vorgegangen, nur mit diesem Unterschiede, dass die Kunst nicht nach und nach, wie bei den Griechen, von ihrer Hoehe herunter sank, sondern sobald sie den ihr damals moeglichen Grad der Hoehe in zween grossen Maennern erreichet hatte (ich rede hier allein von der Zeichnung), so fiel sie mit einmal ploetzlich wieder herunter." The rest of the passage is quoted by Mr. Mahon (pp. 213-214 n. 39).

10. See E. Panofsky, *Idea*, Leipzig, 1924, p. 117 n. 261.

11. *Abhandlung*, Par. 40: "Da die raphaelische Schule, welche nur wie die Morgenroethe hervor kam, aufhoerte, verliessen die Kuenstler das Alterthum, und gingen, wie vorher geschehen war, ihrem eigenen Duenkel nach. Durch die beiden Zucchari fing das Verderbnis an, und Giuseppe von Arpino verblendete sich und andere. Beinahe fuenzig Jahre nach dem Raphael fing die Schule der Carracci an zu bluehen, deren Stifter Ludwig, der aeltere von ihnen, nur auf vierzehn Tage Rom sah, und folglich seinen Enkeln [sic] besonders dem Hannibal, in der Zeichnung nicht beikommen konnte. Diese waren Eclectiker, und suchten die Reinheit der Alten und des Raphaels, das Wissen des Michael Angelo, mit dem Reichthum und dem Ueberfluss der venetianischen Schule, besonders des Paolo, und mit der Froehlichkeit des lombardischen Pinsels im Correggio, zu vereinigen. In der Schule des Agostino und des Hannibals haben sich Domenichino, Guido, Guercino und Albano gebildet, die den Ruhm ihrer Meister erreicht, aber als Nachahmer muessen geachtet werden."

writes, began to flourish about fifty years after Raphael's death and sought to unite the purity of the antique and of Raphael with other excellences from Michelangelo, the Venetians, and Correggio. But before he characterizes the Carracci, Winckelmann, who has been speaking of beauty of form as the touchstone of beautiful drawing, remarks on the decline of the Raphael school when artists forsook the ancients and followed their own conceit. "With the two Zuccari the corruption began," he continues, "and Giuseppe d'Arpino blinded himself and others." Then follow his observations on the Carracci school noted above (Ludovico is said to have been inferior in drawing to Agostino and Annibale because he spent only fourteen days in Rome), and finally Winckelmann speaks of Domenichino, Guido, Guercino, and Albano as followers of Agostino and Annibale who achieved the fame of their masters but must be reckoned as *Nachahmer*. In this passage Winckelmann follows Bellori closely in attributing the decline of art after Raphael to subjective caprice (*Duenkel* corresponds to Bellori's *fantastica idea*), in singling out Giuseppe d'Arpino as a capital example of Mannerism and in emphasizing (this time in an unquestionably complimentary fashion) the eclectic character of the art of the Carracci which followed the corruption of Mannerism. But Winckelmann not only compares them favorably with their immediate predecessors. He also compliments them at least by implication when he distinguishes them from their followers who are not eclectics, he says, but imitators whose chief fault, though they were not without some virtues, was that they fell short of ideal beauty. This is something that he did not say of the Carracci when a year later in the *Geschichte* he called them (as well as their followers) *Nachahmer*. For being imitators of the antique, of Raphael, and of other great masters of the High Renaissance, they were imitators of superior forms of beauty, whereas Domenichino, Guido, and the others were merely imitators of imitators and so, in Platonic phrase, one step further removed from the ideal.

Since the reviewer does not see Winckelmann's interpretation of the role of the Carracci in the same light as Mr. Mahon, he is also inclined to view Winckelmann's relation to subsequent writers in a different light. Henry Fuseli, Professor of Painting in the Royal Academy, knew Winckelmann's writings well and, in speaking of the school of the Carracci, was probably the first, as Mr. Mahon says, to introduce the term eclectic into English (1801). But where Mr. Mahon by implication at least, sees Fuseli as contributing to the stream of unfavorable opinion of the Carracci which, in his opinion, has its source in Winckelmann, the reviewer would stress the strong contrast that he presents to Winckelmann. For Fuseli brands the eclectic doctrine of the Carracci as a mechanical prescription for a union of beauties which is "incompatible

with the leading principle of each master" from whom some excellence would be chosen.[12] This is far from the neoclassic Winckelmann; it is rather the personal reaction of an authentic artist with strong Romantic tendencies both in his critical attitude and his practice who believed in the organic nature of individual genius and hence could not be partial to the doctrine of eclecticism. (Fuseli's poor opinion of the doctrine recalls Bernini's objection to the mechanical application of the theory of selection as it applies to nature. Bernini considered the famous story of Zeuxis and the five maidens of Croton as so much moonshine, and being a Baroque artist who was concerned with the indivisible beauty of the total work of art, he argued that "un bell'occhio d'una femmina non istà bene sopra un bel viso d'un' altra, così una bella bocca e vadasi discorrendo."[13] And it is interesting that Winckelmann, who favored the theory of selection, blamed Bernini for superficial judgment in finding the story of Zeuxis preposterous.[14])

Friedrich von Schlegel, on the other hand, writing shortly after Fuseli (1802-1804), clearly derives from Winckelmann (here Mr. Mahon is on firm ground). Playing a variation on the Winckelmann theme, he compares "the learned imitators and eclectic painters" of the school of the Carracci to the learned poets of Alexandria "who with imitations and anthologies bring the old poetry to an end."[15] But there is also a fundamental and significant difference between them. Winckelmann, the neoclassic critic, aware of a similar evolution in antiquity, sees the Carracci, without disparaging intent, as imitators who, after an interval of bad taste, follow eclectically the tradition of the great painters of the High Renaissance. But Schlegel, the Romantic critic, whose real taste was for the "old style" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which Winckelmann had regarded as harsh and stiff, stresses, as Winckelmann did not, what he considers the decadent aspect of the Carracci by comparing them directly (Winckelmann's similar comparison had been to the late artists of antiquity) to the bookish and trifling poets of Alexandria. The reviewer, then, agrees with Mr. Mahon that Schlegel must be considered a powerful impulse behind the later derogatory view of the Carracci. But where Mr. Mahon sees in Schlegel the consolidation of an unfavorable estimate of them begun by Winckelmann, the reviewer regards Schlegel's view as a striking contrast to that of Winckelmann and this contrast is precisely what one would expect between a neoclassic and a Romantic critic. A hint from Winckelmann, who, as the reviewer has tried to emphasize, was himself anything but ill-disposed to the Carracci, was turned by the later critic, who belonged to a different age, into adverse criticism.

Winckelmann, nevertheless, introduced the term eclectic into our critical vocabulary and applied it to the painting of the Carracci, and this designation has

12. See the passages from his *Lectures on Painting, Delivered at the Royal Academy, London 1801*, which Mr. Mahon quotes on pp. 216-217 nn. 47-49.

13. See Baldinucci's *Vita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, ed. S. S. Ludovici, Milan, 1948, pp. 143-144, and cf. Panofsky, *op.cit.*,

p. 99.

14. *Geschichte*, Book IV, Chap 2, Par. 34.

15. See Mr. Mahon's discussion and his quotations from Schlegel, p. 218.

held until the present day. But does the practice of the Carracci actually justify our use of the term? Mr. Mahon believes that it does not: that there is nothing especially eclectic about them as compared with Raphael or Poussin, for instance, and that the notion that they were eclectics is an illusion proceeding from the three-century-old, but unprovable thesis that they themselves championed the theory of selecting the best from their illustrious predecessors. The reviewer would like very briefly to lend his support to the traditional view. He believes that Winckelmann, who followed Seicento opinion in this matter, was essentially right when he first named them eclectics and that there is still justification for so regarding them today.

Mr. Mahon believes that the idea that the Carracci consciously selected the best from the great painters of the Renaissance is invalid because it originated not in artistic circles, but with a *letterato* who may have inherited this manner of thinking (though not, of course, with specific reference to the Carracci) from Lomazzo. He also points out that in Seicento writing the complimentary characterization of painters as selectors of the excellences of other masters becomes a literary cliché, and at times a fulsome cliché, approaching the comic. Comic, or even grotesque, it certainly became, but the *letterato* who first noted an eclectic character in the art of at least one of the Carracci (Agostino) was a friend, Lucio Faberio, who had served as secretary of their Academy and had, therefore, in the reviewer's opinion, been in a position to hear their opinions on art and theory. Now, in the late sixteenth century, as Anthony Blunt has pointed out,[16] two important academic theorists, Lomazzo and Armenini, had counseled the method of eclecticism as part of a program for the improvement of the art of painting in what they considered its present state of decline. The Carracci inherited this view at very close range: they were not only certain to be familiar with it, but having, as their works testify, a strong admiration for the great tradition of High Renaissance painting, they were almost equally certain to be partial to it. And the emphasis which Faberio says they placed upon the study of nature in their Academy—Mr. Mahon calls attention to this—cannot in their case be said to be contradictory to the doctrine of choosing the best from the living art of a great past. Thus, even if the notorious sonnet falsely attributed to Agostino Carracci is the veritable *reductio ad absurdum* of the doctrine, there is at least the strong presumption that back of it lies the simple truth that the Carracci encouraged by precept as well as by example the practice of eclecticism.

Mr. Mahon cites as refutation of the idea that eclecticism was ever seriously taught in the school of the Carracci a passage from a letter of Domenichino to Francesco Angeloni which was published by Bellori; but in the reviewer's opinion, Mr. Mahon has not interpreted this passage correctly. Taking issue with certain observations of Lomazzo, who, he thinks, tends to weigh them equally,[17] Domenichino has been arguing for the absolute primacy of line (*disegno*) over color and he concludes by remarking that Lomazzo says further "che a fare un quadro perfetto sarebbe Adamo, & Eua: l'Adamo disegnato da Michel Angelo, colorito da Titiano: L'Eua disegnata da Rafaelle, e colorita dal Coreggio hor veda V.S. dove và à cadere chi erra ne primi principij." Mr. Mahon understands this to mean that Domenichino is objecting to Lomazzo's well-known eclectic receipt for creating a picture of the highest perfection (Adam and Eve). If, Mr. Mahon's argument runs, we have this candidly adverse opinion from one of the closest pupils of the Carracci, how can we believe that the masters themselves had any use for the theory of eclecticism, let alone taught it? But Mr. Mahon has interpreted the passage out of context. For Domenichino is not objecting to eclecticism as such at all. If he had been, Bellori, whose sympathy with eclecticism is well known, would probably not have printed the letter, at least not without comment. All Domenichino is saying is that Lomazzo's eclectic prescription makes color equally important with line and that to do this is to err in first principles. This is Domenichino's final effort to refute what he considers Lomazzo's false argument. It is precisely what one might expect from a classicistic painter bred in the tradition of the Florentine-Roman school and of the antique, and it has no implication of disrespect for eclecticism.

But the real evidence that the Carracci were well disposed to the concept of eclecticism is furnished by their works, the eclectic character of which was generally recognized from the beginning of the seventeenth century. Faberio's testimony in his funeral oration for Agostino (1602) has, as Mr. Mahon rightly says, the effusiveness and rhetorical imprecision of a well-disposed *letterato* who is doing a set piece for a public occasion. Nonetheless, when Faberio says that Agostino's art combines "la fierezza e sicurezza di Michelagnolo, la morbidezza e delicatezza di Tiziano, la grazia e maestà di Raffaello, la vaghezza e facilità del Correggio" (to which Agostino added his own excellent invention and disposition!),[18] he is surely doing more than claim, by way of honoring his departed friend, that Agostino had merely "put into practice the wishful thinking of earlier theorists" (p. 137 n. 91). For Faberio's words not only echo the eclectic doctrine of late sixteenth century theorists; in the reviewer's opinion they also reflect his personal view, based on association with the Carracci and first-hand knowledge of their works, that the doctrine was made manifest in the paintings of Agostino (he would, no doubt, have added, of the other Carracci as well). Not many years after Faberio's pronouncement Agucchi showed himself, the reviewer believes, highly conscious of the eclectic character of

16. *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600,* Oxford, 1940, pp. 146, 156-159.

17. The passage containing Domenichino's argument is quoted by Mr. Mahon on p. 120.

18. See Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice,* Bologna, 1841, I, p. 310 (first edition, 1678).

the painting of his friend, Annibale Carracci. He notes Annibale's imitation first of Titian and Correggio, later of the statues of Rome, and of Michelangelo and Raphael, and the final sovereign synthesis of the "disegno finissimo di Roma" with the "bellezza del colorito Lombardo."[19] Mancini, writing in a similar vein a few years after Agucchi (ca. 1619), praises the Carracci as historical painters and remarks that they have united the manner of Raphael with that of Lombardy.[20] And the views of mid-century writers are well known. Dufresnoy, who was a painter as well as a writer, and no fool, concludes his praise of the great painters of the High Renaissance with a complimentary reference to Annibale's diligent and highly successful appropriation of the excellences of these predecessors.[21] And Bellori, paying reverent tribute to Annibale's erudition, notes, as Agucchi had, his profound debt, first to Correggio and Titian, and later to antiquity and Raphael, and also, in specific fashion, to Michelangelo. "Il suo proprio stile," Bellori adds, "fù l'unire insieme l'idea, e la natura, accumulando in se stesso le più degne virtù de' maestri passati. . . ."[22]

Now Mr. Mahon rightly sees (p. 204) that "the central position occupied by Annibale's late works between the two poles of the classic and the baroque appears to have been understood at the time" (he cites the views of Agucchi and Mancini mentioned above) but he is not inclined to interpret the general stream of seventeenth century testimony to mean that there is anything specifically eclectic in the art of Annibale as compared with other painters. And he notes that the "cliché" of discovering in a favorite artist a number of fine ingredients taken from various masters is not confined to the Seicento. Vasari, for instance, he points out (p. 206), had remarked that Raphael "mescolando col detto modo [i.e. that of Fra Bartolommeo] alcuni altri scelti delle cose migliori d'altri maestri, fece di molte maniere una sola. . . ." But here, in the reviewer's opinion, Mr. Mahon has failed to note an important difference between Raphael and Annibale. For Raphael, with the instinct of genius, chiefly appropriated what was congenial or important to him in the styles of his immediate predecessors or his contemporaries, whereas the academic Annibale, having no models of comparable excellence in his own time, and lacking Raphael's genius, looked backwards perforce and very consciously to the great painters of the past. Thus Raphael's mature style is a vital and organic synthesis of elements assimilated from the art of his own creative age (and, of course, from the antique, which, being in process of rediscovery, was a very living and present influence as well), while Annibale's, for all its novelty, is retrospective. And this difference in their discipleship explains and underscores the difference in artistic quality between the Stanza della Segnatura and the Farnese Gallery. For in the Stanza (and one may say the same of the Sistine Ceiling) all influences are subsumed

through the power of individual genius in what appears to be an unpremeditated unity of style, while the Farnese Gallery, in spite of its originality, its energy, and its elements of new naturalism, has not the same uncontrived unity: it remains, as the Stanza della Segnatura and the Sistine Ceiling do not, a composite in which individual parts tend to assert their own artistic parentage at the expense of the kind of unity that is the mark of great genius. To say this is to agree with Bellori that Annibale was a scholarly painter who succeeded in his eclectic aim. But his eclecticism is also the measure of his artistic inferiority both to the great predecessors whom he admired and to his great original contemporary, Caravaggio.

From a book as learned as this, and as varied in content, a reviewer will perhaps inevitably select for discussion those topics that have a particular interest for his own studies and neglect others. The present reviewer is aware of having done this, and if he has entered into rather extended discussion of certain points, this is because he has welcomed the stimulation of the book's new contributions to our knowledge of the Italian Seicento and the original and sometimes controversial character of its argument. The abundant matter which it contains in its text and richly-laden footnotes will make it indispensable for Seicento studies. To the present writer, it has been especially interesting for the new light which it sheds on the history of artistic theory and on the absorbing question of the relation of Seicento painting to the whole cultural milieu out of which it grows.

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DIEGO ANGULO IÑIGUEZ, *El gótico y el renacimiento en las Antillas, arquitectura, escultura, pintura, azulejos, orfebrería*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Seville, 1947 (Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, XXXVI. Edición especial del estudio publicado en el tomo IV del "Anuario de Estudios Americanos"). 101 pages, 81 figs.

Two years after publishing volume I of his *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, Professor Angulo Iñiguez has now studied the Antillan monuments on the spot and has produced, in a special edition, a number of valuable and much desired additions to the first chapter of his general treatise. Dealing with the first nucleus of Spanish architecture in the New World, the subject is of great interest to any student of Hispanic art.

To the body of architectural monuments discussed in his *Historia*, the author has added some fine Gothic houses and five minor churches in Ciudad Trujillo. The churches of Santo Domingo and San Francisco and the Hospital de San Nicolás in the same town as

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19. See Mahon, Appendix I, pp. 250-252.
20. *ibid.*, pp. 32ff.
21. *De arte graphica*, ll. 535-536:

Quos sedulus Hannibal omnes
In propriam mentem, atque modum mira arte coegit.
22. *Vite*, Rome, 1672, p. 80.

well as the ruins of Santiago de los Caballeros have been reexamined. In Puerto Rico the discussion includes one more Gothic church, and there is interesting new material on early Spanish architecture in Jamaica. A small group of statues have been identified as belonging to the Sevillian school of the second half of the sixteenth century and the few examples of sixteenth century painting extant have been treated briefly. As far as the minor arts are concerned, the reader is made acquainted with important goldsmithwork and jewelry. A special chapter has been dedicated to tiles.

By far the most important contribution is the chapter on Jamaica. The publication of the fine architectural fragments of plateresque decoration, now at the Institute of Jamaica, that were recovered several years ago from a well in the ruins of Sevilla La Nueva (near the present St. Ann on the north coast of the island), reintegrates Jamaica into the early history of Spanish art in the New World. Señor Angulo proposes to interpret the striking purity of the plateresque ornament as the work of the generation immediately after Lorenzo Vasquez. If we accept such a hypothetical dating in the 'twenties of the sixteenth century, Jamaica provides the earliest example extant of Renaissance decoration in the New World—and this at a moment when, in the capital of the Antilles, building was still carried on in Isabellinian Gothic. The significance of this find is broadened by a discussion of the literary evidence relating to the church, begun about 1525 by Petrus Martyr in his capacity of abbot of Jamaica. Such an architectural primacy coordinates the humanistic building activities of this reporter of the Discovery with those of the charming Alessandro Geraldini in Santo Domingo and the witty Erasmian, Lázaro Bejarano in Curazao.

Less fortunate is the treatment of the monuments of Hispaniola, which is incomplete, plagued by inaccuracies, and suffers from preconceptions resulting from the author's method of dating.

His recent disregard of documents, already harmful to his *Historia*, has now led to a number of arbitrary statements that one cannot accept from the author of the excellent *Planos de monumentos arquitectónicos de América y Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias*. The question how early or late a stylistic detail may appear in colonial—that is, in provincial—art, cannot be determined a priori by allowing a fixed margin in comparison with metropolitan practice. Only after such limits have been established by documentary evidence for each province concerned can a satisfactory dating be undertaken on a stylistic basis. Thus Señor Angulo

has dated the doorway of the Colegio de Gorjón at Santo Domingo in the years 1516-1519 (*Historia*, I, p. 105). Stylistically this seems correct. Yet a few pages beyond the point he cites, the very documents used by Señor Angulo show that the house was built between 1538 and 1541 or shortly afterward.[1] It would have been only fair to his readers to have corrected this and similar laxities of the *Historia* in a paper written expressly for this purpose. In discussing the Church of Santa Barbara, Señor Angulo dates its Gothic parts in the first half of the sixteenth century, once more following a purely stylistic criterion. He should have been prevented from this by the series of documents of 1571, 1575, and 1591 which describe the church as a straw shed or a building destroyed by a hurricane "down to the very foundations" (documents quoted by Angulo, p. 5). Moreover, it has escaped his attention that the edifice of 1535, with which he wishes to associate the Gothic elements, cannot be identical with that of 1575, as the former "was situated outside the town and was transferred inside" almost forty years later, in 1574.[2] The Isabellinian pearl decoration on which Angulo bases his dating is, like other isolated Isabellinian elements, a somewhat untrustworthy means of dating.[3]

There remains the thorny problem of *Regina Angelorum*, dated by the reviewer 1722.[4] Señor Angulo insists that against any documentary record there stands the stronger proof of the monument itself. "There is no doubt," he says (after having admitted that the Gothic vaulting may belong to the eighteenth century), "that the upper part of the main façade was finished during the Baroque. But," he continues, "the plateresque side door must be dated [so far as style is concerned, very convincingly] between 1570 and 1580." It seems to have escaped Professor Angulo's eye that the sculptural decoration of this very upper part of the façade is the work of the same hand as the side door. Also the reversed (*conopial*) arch of the inner door (fig. 23) appears again on this upper part at the height of the choir loft. As recently published documents[5] repeatedly mention a "new church" whose "foundations" existed in 1714, the alternative is either to consider the whole series of documents as unreliable or to assume that plateresque details were revived locally with astonishing purity during the eighteenth century.

The strangest part of the treatise is Professor Angulo's attempt to save the honor of the church at Jacagua whose apse used to be considered as the oldest *mudéjar* construction extant in the western hemisphere.[6] Yet if the apse of a church appears semicircular

1. E. W. Palm, "Plateresque and Renaissance Monuments of the Island of Hispaniola," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, V, 1946-47, pp. 3ff.

2. "La parrochia de Santa Barbara estuvo fuera de la ciudad y se trasladó dentro y se le dieron de limosna 1000 ducados," *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar*, 2nd series, Madrid, 1885-1925, published by the R. Academia de la Historia, XVIII, p. 17.

3. Palm, "Estilo y epoca en el arte colonial," *Anales del*

Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas, Buenos Aires, II, 1949, pp. 7ff.

4. *La arquitectura del siglo XVIII en Santo Domingo*, Ciudad Trujillo, 1942, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Santo Domingo (quoted below as *PdUStD*), XXI, pp. 14ff.

5. *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* (quoted below as *BdAGN*), Ciudad Trujillo, XI, 1948, pp. 135ff.

6. For documents proving the apse to be a romantic reconstruction of the nineteenth century, see Palm, "Las ruinas de Jacagua," *BdAGN*, IX, 1946.

in a plan of the eighteenth century and is flat in 1944, one is bound to conclude that either the plan is false or the present apse is rebuilt. Señor Angulo has resorted to the expedient of interpreting the apse in the sketch as the indication of a vault. This would mean that in the eighteenth century the church was a ruin open toward the chancel, in which case the present flat apse would still remain a later addition. In order to devalue the uncomfortable document, the sketch of 1744 is styled "muy tardío," an observation which proves nothing.[7] Finally, a piece of Gothic masonry like the one reproduced in figure 18 can hardly determine whether the vaulting is to be dated 1511 or nine years later, as the reviewer has tentatively proposed, to comply with the documentary evidence.[8]

Apart from such misdatings and misinterpretations, the pamphlet is full of obvious slips owing to the haste with which it was composed. For example, the Andalusian masons Gutierrez Navarrete, who were under contract in 1524 to the Dominicans (as Sr. Angulo states correctly, *Historia*, I, p. 98), appear on page 8 as active for the Mercedarians. They are even adduced to prove the diffusion of Andalusian architecture at Hispaniola five years before their possible arrival.[9] Next: the chapel of the *obra vieja* of the *Hospital de San Nicolás*, which Sr. Angulo adds to the list of Gothic monuments treated in his *Historia*, was originally dedicated to the Concepción (not the Altagracia, as it appears in the relevant chapter). Curiously enough, his preoccupation with the church of Jacagua has here prevented him from mentioning the fact that he is dealing with the oldest religious monument preserved tolerably intact in the New World (1519). Another of the minor Gothic churches, Santa Clara, was rebuilt in 1648, not in 1608, as Angulo reads the inscription.

Now to the somewhat chimerical work of the architect Rodrigo de Liendo (pp. 15ff.). My recent discussion[10] of the full documentary record is in accord with Professor Angulo in canceling from the catalogue of his work the main portals of La Merced and San Francisco. In the light of those documents, it is even doubtful whether the apse of La Merced can be attributed to Liendo, whereas the choir loft of Santo Domingo with

its complicated vault is now secured as his work,[11] and Liendo's newly discovered title, *maestro mayor de la Catedral*, a position he held from 1538/1539 on,[12] seems to confirm his close association with the construction of several of the side chapels of the cathedral. Señor Angulo now accepts the reviewer's thesis that the vaulting of San Francisco dates from 1665 (instead of 1566, *Historia*, I, p. 97) but observes that the apse may possibly have been vaulted at an earlier date. The reviewer has pointed out the affinity between this part of the vault and the apse of San Jerónimo at Granada.[13] Yet he does not believe that the Gothic profiles of the ribs can be adduced as an argument, given the fact that such profiles occur in Santo Domingo throughout the seventeenth century.

In reexamining the church of the Dominicans, Angulo now distinguishes (contrary to his *Historia*, I, p. 98) the sixteenth from the eighteenth century parts, pointing out the highly interesting problem of the crossing; yet he fails to offer a solution. His interpretation of the puzzling decorative corbels as a functional element which survived from a projected scheme of vaulting is not convincing. An identical corbel is repeated on the outside on the north flank of the church. A photograph of the *mudéjar* cloister (quoted *Historia*, I, p. 98), which is unknown to the reviewer, would have been welcome.

In general, Professor Angulo has adhered to the strange principle of selecting primarily controversial monuments for his *spicilegium*. Although the omission of the ruins of La Isabela may be accounted for on archaeological grounds—in spite of the fact that the author discusses archaeological evidence in Jamaica and Puerto Rico—the fact that he mentions neither a monument of such first rate importance as the colonial dockyards[14] (1509-after 1541) nor the late-plateresque city gate, the Puerta de San Diego,[15] is hard to understand. A note on the early sixteenth century fortress of La Vega should have been included under the heading of "Las ruinas de Santiago y de la Vega." Nor should the Gothic church of Sta. Maria del Rosario with its interesting porch remain unmentioned.

Of course no history can ever be complete. Angulo now adds to his catalogue of sixteenth century work in

7. As a matter of fact, our graphic information concerning Spanish colonial monuments is not infrequently eighteenth century material, to which Señor Angulo's earlier work bears ample witness (at Santo Domingo, e.g., the plans of the palace of Columbus, 1770; plans of San Nicolás, 1783).

8. "Las ruinas de Jacagua," *op.cit.*, p. 98. Since Professor Angulo published his book, the dependencies that surround the church on four sides, have hypothetically been identified as rooms for the Indians who were being instructed (cf. F. Cipriano de Utrera, *apud* Emilio Rodriguez Demorizi, "El Convento de San Francisco en 1750," *BdAGN*, X, 1947, pp. 233ff., n. 11). I agree with Professor Angulo in considering as authentic the foundations of the sidewalls of the church and several isolated pieces of brick work examined by him.

9. Moreover, their very arrival must be treated with caution as no document proving their embarkation has emerged so far from the records of the *Pasajeros a Indias*. One should keep in mind that frequently a contract signed in the motherland does not imply the departure of the contractee for the colonies.

10. "Documentos y testimonios relativos al arquitecto Rodrigo Gil de Rozillo, llamado Rodrigo de Liendo," *Anales de la Universidad de Santo Domingo*, X, 1946, pp. 281-335.

11. *ibid.*, pp. 283 and 284.

12. Angulo, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, Barcelona and Buenos Aires, I, 1945, p. 116, quotes him as "maestro mayor de las obras reales" for 1539, a confusion resulting from a title that was granted to him in 1534 (cf. Palm, review of Angulo's *Historia*, *Anales de la Universidad de Santo Domingo*, IX, 1945, p. 274).

13. *Rodrigo de Liendo, arquitecto en la Española*, PdUStD, XXVIII, 1944, p. 38.

14. Palm, "La Atarazana de Santo Domingo," *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, Buenos Aires, XXVII, 1943, pp. 42ff. Additions and corrections in the reviewer's forthcoming book: *Los monumentos arquitectónicos de la Española*.

15. *idem*, "La Puerta de San Diego en Santo Domingo," *BdAGN*, V, 1942, pp. 282ff.

Cuba the sepulchral monument of Doña Maria de Cepero y Nieto at Havana (1557), quoted by the reviewer[16] to prove the early presence of purist tendencies, and thus makes up for his previous reliance upon incomplete second-hand material. Yet following his discussion of seventeenth century Gothic monuments at Santo Domingo, one would have expected him to include the Gothic cross vault of the chancel of the Church of Espíritu Santo at Havana, the only Gothic vault extant in Cuba.

The chapter on Puerto Rico, given the scarcity of material, adds little to the *Historia* except the valuable interpretation of the transept of San José (the former church of the Dominican friars)[17] resembling in some respects that of Santo Domingo at Ciudad Trujillo. However, one notes some confusion. The building mentioned by Bishop Fuenleal as "well built" and "almost ready" in 1528 seems to have been the monastery rather than the church, since four years later, in 1532, only the foundations of the church existed.[18] The Cathedral of San Juan, begun by Bishop Bastidas in 1540, was not finished in a preliminary way in 1577 (as misprinted, p. 23) but some time before 1587. Nor was it single-aisled, as Angulo asserts,[19] having had a nave and two aisles separated by columns, according to the description of the chaplain of the Cumberland fleet[20] which took San Juan in 1598. Insofar as civil architecture is concerned, one misses allusion to the archaeological evidence for the *ajimez* window[21] in Ponce de Leon's house at Caparra (1509-1512), the tiles of which are discussed at length in the chapter on *azulejos*.

Professor Angulo, to whose connoisseurship we owe the recent catalogue of the jewels of the Dauphin at the Prado, has used this opportunity to give a condensed inventory of the important treasures of silverwork in the Antilles. He includes in his survey not only Gothic and Renaissance pieces but also those belonging to the following two centuries. The lover of Hispanic goldsmithwork will be grateful for Señor Angulo's indication of such important groups as the sixteenth century civil jewelry and the jetwork at Ciudad Trujillo, the sixteenth century pieces in Cuba, or such things as the frontal of the well-known Central American eighteenth century type in Santiago de Cuba and other repoussé work. The lack of reproductions is unfortunate, particularly since Professor Angulo's rapid account is not free of errors and includes even the unchecked references in his notebook (as is stated apologetically on p. 60). Thus he reads 1519 on the lid of the chest of the Sacrament of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo instead of 1579 and is rightly astonished at such an early manifestation of the Renaissance (p. 53). Though stylistically the piece reflects a moment some decades prior to the date inscribed, there can be no doubt as to the reading of 1579 verified by the dates of the donor (confused by Señor Angulo with a man of the same name[22]). As to the most important single piece, the monstrance of the same cathedral treasure, Professor Angulo insists on dating it in the middle of the sixteenth century. On stylistic grounds, the reviewer would prefer[23] the date proposed by Señor Angulo. However, it is hard to believe that the decisive document of 1586 could be untrustworthy, as he proposes, since it states explicitly that *the* monstrance of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo formed part of the ransom paid to avoid total destruction of the town by Drake. On the other hand, a goldsmith's design could well have been preserved and used at a moment when the official fashion had already changed.[24] The fine monstrance in the Cathedral of San Juan from the end of the sixteenth century is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Hispanic silverwork in the Antilles.

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16. Review of Angulo, *op.cit.*, p. 275.

17. Thomas Tileston Waterman, "The Gothic Architecture of Santo Domingo," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, Washington, D.C., LXXVII, no. 6, 1943, p. 316 (refuted in other respects on p. 3 of Señor Angulo's paper), should have been given credit for the observation of this interesting parallel.

18. Antonio Cuesta Mendoza, *Historia eclesiástica del Puerto Rico colonial*, Ciudad Trujillo, I, 1948, p. 293.

19. Following Manuel Balbuena de la Maza, "La Catedral de San Juan de Puerto Rico," *Arte en América y Filipinas*, Seville, II, 1936, p. 119.

20. *Boletín histórico de Puerto Rico*, V, 1918, p. 53.

21. Adolfo de Hostos, *Investigaciones históricas. Las excava-*

ciones de Caparra, San Juan de Puerto Rico, 1938, p. 57.

22. Utrera, "Almoneda del Ingenio de Hernando Gorjón," *Clio, Revista de la Academia Dominicana de la Historia*, Ciudad Trujillo, XVI, 1948, no. 81, p. 14 n. 36; Palm, "The Treasure of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo," *The Art Quarterly*, XIII, 1950, p. 137 n. 19.

23. As expressed on the occasion of the discovery of the marks by the Marqués de Lozoya, cf. "Letter to the Editor," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, series 6, XXXVI, 1948, p. 256; see also "A Descendant of the Arfe Family in Spanish America," *ibid.*, XXXIV, 1946, p. 99.

24. I am indebted for this observation to Miss Ada Marshall Johnson of the Hispanic Society of America.

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